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METHODIST REVIEW

JULY, 1921

THE NEW LAMBETH PROPOSALS FOR CHURCH UNION

EDWIN H. HUGHES, Malden, Mass.

THE Lambeth Conference is a gathering of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion and is so called because of its being held at the Lambeth Palace. It has no power of control or legislation and is held for purposes of counsel and inspiration. The attendants introduce themselves in a gracious preamble as "Archbishops of the Holy Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England"; while in a second paragraph they declare: "We who speak are bearers of the sacred commission of the ministry given by our Lord through his apostles to the Church."

We do not now deal with the general deliverances of the Lambeth meeting. Some of these are lofty discussions of great matters; industrial problems; the religious sphere of women; marriage; and Spiritualism, Christian Science and Theosophy. So far as this writer has seen these deliverances have not excited special comment. That on Industrial Relations may mark progress for religionists as conservative as those of the Church of England, and may be deemed hopeful as a confession of "a poor record" in demanding a social application of the gospel. But in freedom from vagueness and in the abandonment of an undue caution it does not seem to equal the deliverances of our American churches on the same subject.

Nor does this paper deal at length with the pious mood in which the subject of Church Union is approached. This mood seems to register a distinct advance beyond the mood of previous pronouncements. There is likewise a commendable note of peni-

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tence in the following: "We desire frankly to confess our share in the guilt of this crippling of the Body of Christ and hindering the activity of his Spirit"—though we would all quickly allow that the depth of the penitent mood can be proven only by the abandonment of the exclusiveness that has marked the relations of the ministers of the Anglican bodies with those of other churches. Time alone can prove whether this penitence is largely confined to pen and ink. We who are not formally included in the confession may well search ourselves to discover whether we have schismatic hearts.

When we come to definite proposals for the program of union we have the following:

> We believe that the visible unity of the Church will be found to involve the whole-hearted acceptance of:
>
> The Holy Scriptures, as the record of God's revelation of himself to man, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith; and the Creed commonly called Nicene, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and either it or the Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal confession of belief:
>
> The divinely instituted sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, as expressing for all the corporate life of the whole fellowship in and with Christ:
>
> A ministry acknowledged by every part of the Church as possessing not only the inward call of the Spirit, but also the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body.

While these bases are placed in three paragraphs, they are really the old Lambeth Quadrilateral in somewhat changed phraseology. Doubtless the words relating to the Holy Scriptures would evoke the least opposition, though here it may be remarked that, if it be urged that heed must be paid to the views of the Greek and Roman Communions in regard to the Episcopacy, more heed will have to be given to their views on the Bible, particularly those of the Roman Catholics. On the question of creeds it needs to be said that certainly a modern and reunited Church could well produce improvements on the ancient expressions of faith. This gentle caveat is dropped in, not because this writer revolts against either of the creeds, as named. He accepts them both quite sincerely and is not especially appalled even by some of the metaphysical subtleties involved. But he is fully conscious that subscription to these two creeds would exclude some who are more

truly in the real Church of Christ than are many present-day reciters of these august confessions.

In the paragraph relating to the sacraments, we break with Rome once more as a matter of conviction. Many good men in reorganizing the Church would receive into its membership the Quakers, who, having the spiritual realities for which baptism and the Holy Communion stand, declare themselves in conscience bound to believe that outward ordinances were done away with in the Cross of Christ and who in thousands of cases live such pious and useful lives as put to shame some believers to whom baptismal waters have been applied and even some believers who have been applied to baptismal waters!

To the above let it be added that any careful reading of the proposals for union detects more and more clearly a sacramentarian conception of the gospel. The very high churchmen present do not appear to have felt that their ideas were being affronted. Indeed, in an exceedingly pious way the Catholic idea, speaking technically, really combats the Protestant idea in this document. There are few perils of the true Church of Christ equal to the sacramentarian conception. Listen to these quotations:

The Conference—

> cannot approve the celebration in Anglican churches of the Holy Communion for members of the Anglican Church by ministers who have not been episcopally ordained.

The Conference—

> "declares" that "it should be regarded as the general rule of the church that Anglican communicants should receive Holy Communion only at the hands of ministers of their own church, or of churches in communion therewith."

Fairness should lead to the quotation of the following:

> The Bishops of the Anglican Communion will not question the action of any Bishops who in the few years between the institution and the completion of a definite scheme of union, shall countenance the irregularity of admitting to communion the baptized but unconfirmed communicants of the non-Episcopal congregations concerned in the scheme.

When one reads these declarations, which are a part of the report, one does not marvel that the High Churchmen among the

Bishops found no reason for voting against its adoption. Spiritual phraseology cannot hide a certain sacramentarianism amounting to ecclesiastical materialism that lurks in more than one section of this utterance. We have not the remotest idea that a unified church can ever be gained by an emphasis so outward and unspiritual. The Lord's table in the Church of that Lord, who gave nothing that resembles the above prescriptions, must not be made either a monopoly or a fetish.

But as the most of our churches have creeds and the two sacraments, the chief debate concerning the renewed quadrilateral must center about the question of the ministry. Let it be gladly admitted that these proposals indicate progress in one respect:

There is this general statement:

"We acknowledge all those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and have been baptized into the name of the Holy Trinity, as sharing with us membership in the Universal Church of Christ, which is his body." This can mean only that some of us who have never come into the membership of the Greek, Roman or Anglican communions are none the less in the Universal, that is, the Catholic Church. In addition, after various interesting circumlocutions and apparent avoidances, the Appeal in paragraph 10 reaches the point where it speaks of "other Churches." We are in the "Universal Church" and we are members of "other Churches," with the capital C. But let us not be too hopeful. Exclusiveness will not easily depart. Directly the Conference declares that "It cannot approve of general schemes of intercommunion or exchange of pulpits," lest these "imperil both the attainment of its ideal and the unity of its own communion." There is this concession:

A Bishop is justified in giving occasional authorization to ministers, not episcopally ordained, who in his judgment are working toward an ideal of union such as is set forth in our Appeal, to preach in churches within his diocese.

The total meaning would seem to be that we may be ministers in the "Universal Church" and in "other Churches," but that we lack some real authorization in the two minor functions of preaching the gospel and administering a sacrament!

It is at this point that we must all take an attitude; the attitude will depend much upon the personal equation involved.

1. One who might well be designated as able a man intellectually as we have in the American pulpit to-day regards all such churchmanship with a shyly concealed merriment. To him it is strut and swagger and he evidently deems it an overdone ecclesiasticism in its puffiest seasons.

2. Another is not vexed or amused at the solemn effrontery of it all. He even declares himself ready to submit to episcopal reordination, since he does not take the case with deep seriousness. He believes in the ideal of outward unity; and he is willing to go through a performance that adds no extra grace and confers nothing but an extension of ecclesiastical authority, because that is the concession he *must* make to the narrow, but not wicked, weakness of his episcopal brethren! He does not believe in any deep succession, and he is willing to get into it *because* it is shallow!! Oddly enough, the American representatives of this attitude are nearly all now related to a communion that has been farthest removed from a sacerdotal idea of the Christian Church. But note this: "The Concordat" submitted by members of the Protestant Episcopal and Congregational Churches reached the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1919. After some passages between the House of Deputies and the House of Bishops, the latter house voted that "the following points shall be carefully considered":

> That the congregation, if any, in which such minister officiates, shall declare through its accustomed representatives, its desire for such ordination on behalf of its minister and its purpose to receive in future the ministrations and the sacrament of one who shall have been ordained to the priesthood by a Bishop.

This is surely an astounding suggestion. The road back to Congregational or Presbyterian ordination would be permanently closed. There is also an ecclesiastical and personal side to the proposed Canon, for the carrying out of the "Concordat," which provides that the episcopally reordained Congregational minister shall, "when thereto invited by the Bishop of this Church having jurisdiction in the place where he lives (unless unavoidably prevented), meet with such Bishop for Communion and for counsel and cooperation; and that he will hold himself answerable to the

Bishop of this Church in the place where he lives, or if there be no such Bishop, to the Presiding Bishop of this Church, in case he is called in question in respect to error of faith or of conduct." This provision is interesting and revealing because it shows what may happen in case an effort is made to carry out the scheme of double or plural ordinations. This is the most amazing document that has appeared in a third of a millennium of Congregationalism, over the signatures of reputable and representative men. It has in it possibilities of dire cleavage. Will donominational bigamy work? Ecclesiastically, can a man serve two masters? Is it a good time for the men whose spiritual ancestors crossed a sea to found a church without a Bishop, and a state without a King, to do some solemn pausing.

3. The third attitude is far more frequent than the other two; yet it does not often come to formal statement in public discussion. Nor does it always find place in private debate. In an effort to be perfectly courteous the holder of this attitude screens his deeper view and hunts for mild verbal substitutes for some vigorous thoughts. Yet in personal conversation he says frankly that he regards the theory of apostolic succession, held by the Anglican Church, as a genuine superstition. Even when the theory is presented with purposed indefiniteness or with polite evasions, he sees in it a claim for something like magic. He may himself believe in order, and he may have more of it in his own church than his Episcopal brethren have in theirs; but he finds no warrant, either in the word of Christ or in the experiences of worthy believers, for considering any particular form of order as other than an instrument. The moment you make the instrument the essence or any fragment of the essence of church life, depending upon a quasi-physical condition of manual and capital contacts, that moment you join the ranks of superstition. The man of this third attitude may believe in order as a convenience, as a maker of cohesiveness in an authorized religious body, as a means of furnishing grades of preparation for the ministry, and as a service for the exercise of a proper authority. But he rejects utterly the idea of any divine prescription of an episcopal form of government as being in any sense an exclusive vehicle of grace, or even as bearing

more grace than the Congregational or Presbyterian forms. The view that assigns an extra supply of grace to the sacraments on the ground that the administrator has been episcopally ordained in the Church of England or the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, he regards as merely and only a superstition.

It is needless to say that for a man in this group the argument from physical contacts, so far from being convincing, is even absurd. It signifies nothing to him that it can be proved or disproved. If you show him candidate heads and episcopal hands reaching in a graceful and reverent row back to the earliest times of fairly developed Bishoprics, it matters not. He feels somewhat humiliated in discussing the matter from that standpoint. Ecclesiastically, we are all descendants. We who believe in Christ, and find our love and hope and service through him, have our ancestry. The first part of the way the ecclesiastic order came to us through Presbyters; the second part of the way it came through monarchical Bishops. In due season God wanted reformations and improvements and he again changed the manner of descent. If any man really believes that an iota of spiritual virtue dropped out of that line when in Reformation times presbyterial hands substituted episcopal hands, he is welcome to the view. We have not the slightest idea that episcopal succession from the apostles can be proven. There were too many chances for breaks along the line. But a demonstrated line of episcopal contacts would not have a single command of Christ as its warrant for more assured grace. "The Lord our God is a great God;" and we do not exalt him when we make him appear dependent upon a special kind of outer contact; and we exalt him less when we picture him as giving a special grace to any form of ordination. The Bishops of the Lambeth Conference could not carry their plea for the episcopacy clear up to God; for they "thankfully acknowledge that the non-Episcopal communions" have been, to quote their own words, "manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace." We engage in no irreverence when we say that we should be heedful lest we may in any degree appeal from this verdict of the Holy Spirit.

The scriptural warrant for any present form of episcopacy

simply does not exist. Christ himself provided no form. Lightfoot possessed all the virtue of the "historic episcopate"; but his essay on "The Christian Ministry" in his study of Philippians led Phillips Brooks to declare that Lightfoot "finishes" the "apostolic succession theory completely." Even the Epistles scarcely suggest an embryo of the present Protestant Episcopal or Methodist Episcopal Bishoprics. The simple truth is that it required a full century and a half to develop anything like a general and monarchical episcopate. The early patristic literature gives overwhelming evidence that "bishop" and "presbyter" were interchangeable words, and that the apostolic church had but two orders. Multiplied pages could be filled with such testimony. The "historic episcopate" is "historic," but it is not "historic" in the sense of being apostolic. The further we move away from the apostles and from their Lord, the more do we hear about "apostolic succession." Unless one adopts the Roman Catholic interpretation of Christ's address to Peter about the "rock" and the "keys" one finds in Jesus himself no shred of evidence for any verbally authorized form. If you want ecclesiastical "proofs" you must flee to the ecclesiastics themselves! The historic episcopacy loses its historicity a long way this side of the historic Christ!

There is likewise superabundant evidence that before the time when an overweening ecclesiastical spirit did its work, ministers from the other Reformed Churches passed freely into the ministry of the Church of England, and *without reordination.* This continued for scores of years. That church in the flush of its new spiritual freedom acted on Jerome's saying, "Let Bishops understand that they are above Priests rather of custom than of any truth or right of Christ's institution." It required an Archbishop Laud to weld the theory into a rigid form and when he died on the scaffold the theory did not die with him. Under this archpromoter of the apostolic succession dogma, there came a scattering of the people of God, thousands of them going to Holland. We pass by the matter of the validity of Matthew Parker's "ordination" as Bishop, as involving questions dear to canonical debaters —whether a consecration virtually compelled by royal mandate was a true one; whether an ordination by men who, being in three

out of the four cases Puritans, gave the necessary "intention" to the event; whether the omission of the distinct statement of the Ordinal about "a Bishop in the Church of God" destroyed the effect of the ceremony. These questions concerning mechanics may be left for the serious discussion of pseudo-statesmen in the ecclesiastical kingdom. For the High Churchman the questions are painfully meaningful; for the rest of us the questions are vanities and vacuities.

For the test of churchmanship is a deeper one than that of special form of tactual descent. Presbyterianism arose in God's providence; so did Congregationalism; so did Episcopacy. All came by divine prescription in the sense that the prescription was given of God in what Queen Elizabeth's mandate called "the state of the times and the exigencies of affairs." The believers of the second century had no more "divine right" to fix a church government than did the believers of the later centuries. The sanction of God upon any form is found in his evident blessing upon its working. Under that test we who discard the superstition involved in a certain conception of episcopal ordainings, still gladly confess that the seal of the Lord has often been upon such ordinations. In respect of all forms God has spoken once; twice and more have we heard it, that "power belongeth unto God."

It thus appears that the changing church developed the forms of its own life. The form of Episcopacy came to huge proportions. When it went to a frightful extreme of autocracy, God, through his awakened Church, smote it a blow and gave his people a fresh beginning. In the seventeenth century he did the like thing, thrusting out some of our spiritual ancestors until they were beyond the reach of a Bishop's hands. Again, in the eighteenth century, he prepared a new type of Episcopacy and led John Wesley, after many pathetic struggles against his High Church fetters, to give the Church of Christ yet another form. The four great forms that grew out of those providential movements, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist, have all had the seal of God upon them. We must take no attitude toward them that is in the slightest degree a denial of him, or a doubting of that grace which he ministered through them. They

were all his instruments; and he graciously varied them in sufficient measure to show that his great love was not limited to any one ecclesiastical order.

This leads to the claim that, ere church unity shall be formed on any theory of orders, we must be as sure that God speaks it so as we are now confident that he has spoken through the historic movements touched in the above paragraphs. Many of us find neither in history nor in the demands of present life any assured call for one church after the episcopal form. Indeed, we frankly acknowledge a fear of any such form when it asserts for itself special authority or asks for an approach to monopoly. We once had the so-called apostolic succession in full and ecumenical swing; and however we may declare that the Dark Ages were not wholly dark, they are still not a shining argument for exclusive episcopacy. Nor are the current arguments from life reassuring. Russia's religious life has been almost wholly in control of the episcopal succession, on which the Lambeth Conference casts no doubt; but a study of it all leads many of us to thank God that we are mere Congregationalists and Baptists and Methodists! The Conference would tell us that Mexico has the succession in plenteous measure; but the succession is not altogether a success. The simple and startling fact is that in the great majority of the countries where the apostolic succession is dominant, more than half of the people cannot read or write. The succession seems to have done much better work, and to have kept itself more free from bondage to superficial and outer forms, where it has met the example and rivalry of those who have broken away from its authority and from some phases of its life. Are we not warranted in saying that, taking the American religious life as a whole, no religious life elsewhere surpasses it in doing the works of mercy that the Body of Christ, ruled by his Spirit, would do, or in producing the type of character that our Saviour came to create in the hearts of men? If the historical argument be purged and spiritualized, we who do not belong and who do not wish to belong to a sacerdotal and monarchical Episcopacy, need not shrink from the test.

Let it be said that the relation of the whole Church of

Christ in the United States to the mooted question is in itself unique. The American communion, that was represented at Lambeth by almost fifty Bishops, is numerically a small proportion of American Christianity. Of our total church membership less than one in forty is in the Protestant Episcopal communion. If we count only the Protestant members, about one in twenty-nine has entered that communion. Last year one American church gained nineteen times as many members as did this; another twelve, another four, and another three. If we are told that the appeal is not to numbers, then we may ask why so much heed is given to the matter of numbers in the Roman and Greek churches? When our political and spiritual ancestors broke away from the "divine right of Kings," they followed the example they had set for themselves in breaking away from the divine right of Bishops. We dropped out of a certain kind of royal succession; and we made another for ourselves with Washington and Lincoln in the line; and we dropped out of a certain kind of sacerdotal succession, and made another for ourselves with Bushnell, Beecher, Storrs, Simpson, Cuyler, and many other priests of the living God in the line. In the providence of our history and in the testimony of the Lord's blessing on our service, we claim that we are kings and priests unto the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Our doors are generally open to our brethren of the Anglican communion. We interpret the meaning of our own orders by the attitude that we take toward the orders of our Christian brethren. For the sake of discipline, regularity, and efficiency in service, we may draw our distinctions between the credentials of a deacon and an elder. But when accredited ministers come to us from other communions having but one order, we give these good men full standing in our ministry, provided they have inner unity with us. Our Anglican comrades do this with the priests of the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches; they say they cannot conscientiously do it with us. We refuse to yield to a superstition. The Anglican portal must be widened. We decline to shrink ourselves to fit a meager entrance.

Nor are we ready to grant that this narrow entrance monopolizes the way to the past. No denomination holds church history

in lonely trust. In our relation to the past we all must believe in a type of election. Every great movement discards some past things. The Lutheran reformation, the English reformation, the Puritan reformation, the Wesleyan reformation—all have this likeness, that they shook themselves free from bondage to unworthy sections of history. When one solemnly claims that a tactual line of ordination opens the past to him so that he appropriates the benefits as his non-episcopal brother cannot do, we may smilingly deny his monopoly and show him our own keys. Breaking away from the rule of the royal line did not rob Americans of Magna Charta, and breaking away from the "Episcopal" line did not take Cranmer, Augustine, and Origen from our world. Did our Anglican brethren lose Saint Francis of Assisi when they broke away from the Church of Rome? Are our Protestant Episcopal people in the United States shut out of the longer history of Congregationalism in the new world, so that they cannot get at the treasures of the Mathers and of Jonathan Edwards? Are we not all unified in the glory of a spiritual history? And who among us would care to make the impudent claim that we are appointed by tactual processes as the trustees of the Great Past?

As we are united in our own right to appropriate that past, so are we relatively united in the present. In a far larger degree than many admit we have now an actual unity. The apostolic succession advocates remain out of the unity that now is, and then declare that the unity does not exist! Too many of them read their own exclusiveness into the present religious situation. When a man separates himself from others, it is likely that others are separated from him! There is a continual exaggeration as to the alleged cleavages in the Body of Christ. Our Saviour's prayer in John seventeen is often presented as if it pleaded for organization unity. "Neither pray I for these alone, but for all those that shall believe on me through their word. That they may all be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." It is easy to understand the type of mind that urges a form of outward unity as leading to the spiritual unity here put into prayer form. But it is difficult to understand that travesty of

exegesis that takes this longing for spiritual oneness among the disciples as an argument for a type of organization or ordination of which Jesus never gave a hint or an iota of a hint. We believe that this prayer has largely had its answer in the hearts of the ministers of the non-Episcopal churches of America. Indeed, we are more and more persuaded that the tendency of a schismatic spirit is to see schism everywhere, save in its own fashions and forms. For this reason, doubtless, the movement for outward church unity is being promoted by those who have a specific conception of ministerial orders, and who, let it be said frankly, if charitably, are the most exclusive in their religious behavior. If a man imprisons himself within a theory and then declares that his prison is the world, we will go within his confinement when we can but we will not allow him to define his jail as the universe.

The simple fact is that there is far more unity among us who are not of the alleged succession than there is between the Low Churchman and the Broad Churchman, and the High Churchman. When the representative of a church calmly states that he would have to reordain George A. Gordon, but not Cardinal O'Connell, he must pardon us if we are seized with questionings. There is to-day far more unity among the so-called non-conforming churches than there is among the three branches of the alleged successionists. But the main point is this: we are not aware of these dreadful cleavages in our American religious life. The ministers in various religious communions are for the most part comrades and fellow workers in bringing our holy religion to the people of our land. When a man talks, as too many do, about the tragic divisions in the Body of Christ, he may be revealing the narrow and schismatic heart that assigns his own mood of exclusiveness to the men who entertain no such feeling.

Once again let it be said that the motive behind the demand for reordination is a feeling that the succession, as such, has in it some touch of legitimacy, regularity, or grace that orders outside that succession do not have. When questions are focused on this point there will be painful hedging and deplorable evasion. But that sacerdotal conception is there, a superstition still, no

matter how it may be hidden under courteous and pious phrases. It is unfortunate and misleading that all of the Lambeth actions relating to reunion and order are not published along with the beautiful Appeal. There is not time to repeat many of these. There was an investigation of the Church of Sweden; and the conclusion is that it has "the unbroken succession of the Episcopacy." But, mark well, immediately the pressure toward uniformity begins; and the Swedish Church is exhorted to restore the diaconate and the laying-on-of-hands in confirmation. The Unitas Fratrum, or Moravians, is investigated and no final conclusion reached as to its place in the succession; but even so, several suggestions looking toward uniformity are definitely made. It is always so in the record. When ministerial orders as a basis of unity are discussed, suggestions for uniformity are unavoidable, even as in the "Concordat," framed in this country for our Congregational brethren. All these other actions are commentaries on the Appeal, and they show always the beginning of an insistence on uniformity. The simple fact is that the Lambeth record reeks with a doctrine of ecclesiastical mechanics. There is here a lurking sacerdotalism with a claim to special grace; there is here a draped sacramentarianism that is sure to import unspiritual conditions into religious life. If our ideal be to gather all of us directly into outward unity with the Greek and Roman churches, and to this end we accept episcopal ordination, where is the stopping place? The Congregationalists of the Concordat are asked to accept the authority of a Bishop. Why not of the head Bishop of Rome? Then why not accept infallibility? Is it not largely a figment anyhow, used with exceeding caution, and quite less likely to touch us than is the episcopal authority of the Concordat? Verily, the cross roads are critical. We may well halt ere we choose our direction.

Beyond this, the plan of reordination will make for disastrous cleavages in our church life. If, for example, the Methodist Episcopal Church should by its General Conference, or the constitutional process, order its nearly 20,000 preachers to be reordained, there will be a revolt. If, on the other hand, the matter is left to individual choice, we begin to build two classes

in our ministry. A cleavage is inevitable if the movement proceeds on corporate lines; it is likewise inevitable if the movement proceeds in a large way on individual lines. The sincerity of the proposers need not be questioned when the statement is made that an enemy of present church life in America could scarcely design a surer plan for making more divisions.

When we study the historic episcopate we are driven to study its historic tendencies. What has been its assured drift? In the Roman branch it has developed not only into a doctrine of fearsome monarchy, but also into an amazing list of prescribed forms and ceremonies. In the Greek branch the revolt against the Pope did not halt the increase of feasts and festivals and rites. If our Anglican brethren prefer fellowship with these two branches and can conscientiously receive their priests without reordination, but cannot conscientiously receive our best Protestant ministers of other denominations without a new tactual ceremony, our nonconforming people have urgent reason for more than hesitation. The Anglican communion itself has not escaped the strong drift of these ceremonial conceptions. In England and America she has seen a disconcerting growth of the High Church party. The churches that should yield to the suggestion of episcopal reordination would at once set that force to working in their midst. The Puritan and Pilgrim movements escaped it because they broke utterly away; and the Wesleyan movement saved itself and its usefulness by a blessed separation. It is no wonder, in view of the inevitable trend in churches of the alleged succession, that Wesleyans have always fought the claim that John Wesley was ordained a Bishop by Bishop Erasmus of the Greek Church. There has been a natural and wholesome fear of the effect of such an emphasis in connection with our orders. In the conviction of our best men such an ordination would have been a disaster; and they have only been glad to believe that Samuel Peters' letter, affirming such an ordination, is either a forgery or a figment of imagination. The fastening of another episcopal ordination upon the church would have worked for division and weakness, and its certain tendency would have been to take out of the Wesleyan movement the force and spontaneity that have helped to give it a

measurable success. If the Lambeth proposals begin to work, either along corporate or individual lines in any wide way, the devil of cleavage may appear to be leaving the house of faith; but he will return directly, bringing with him seven more wicked demons of division. The last state will be worse than the first.

The conclusion is that such church unity as we now have, though often imperfect and sometimes violated, will increase to larger and better life, if we work heartily from within. If we are all one, as Christ is in God, and God in Christ, the unified inner life will duly find the right outer form or forms. Our unity is in Christ. When we all turn toward him, as in our prayers and hymns, we find ourselves sacredly united. Sometimes we must all wish that there should be no more talk about unity for quite a while. If we feel it and live it, we shall be making contributions to it; and if God wills one outward form for his church, the Body will in due season answer to the inner spirit of Christ. The nearer you come to Christ in the New Testament, the less emphasis do you find upon the form of church organization, and the more emphasis upon the call to devotion to him whom we love, and whom we love to call the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls. In him is the unity for our churches; in him the unity for all humanity. George Matheson wrote a poem, entitled "Gather Us In":

Gather us in, thou Love that fillest all;
Gather our rival faiths within thy fold;
Rend each man's temple veil, and bid it fall,
That we may know that thou hast been of old.

Gather us in; we worship only thee;
In varied names we stretch a common hand;
In diverse forms a common soul we see;
In many ways we seek one promised land.

Thine is the mystic life great India craves;
Thine is the Parsee's sin-destroying beam;
Thine is the Buddhist's rest from tossing waves;
Thine is the empire of great China's dream.

Thine is the Roman's strength without his pride;
Thine is the Greek's glad world without its graves;
Thine is Judea's law with love beside,
The truth that censures and the grace that saves.

Some seek a Father in the heavens above;
Some ask a human image to adore;
Some crave a Spirit vast as life and love—
Within thy mansions we have all and more.

The Father's house in heaven is to have many mansions; and the Father's house on earth has likewise many mansions. Let us be careful how we proceed to disconnect or destroy them unless the Carpenter of Nazareth superintends the construction so that he may more truly live and work through us all in manifesting the family life of the children of God. By his great revelation of grace Christ has won us to the Father's household. The spell of our orphanhood has been broken by his word so that we say, "Abba, Father." We insist in our declination to be called virtually half-brothers or step-brothers! Our names are written in the family Bible of God—even the Book of Life. We will permit no slander of illegitimacy to rest upon ourselves and our spiritual ancestors. But with a frank and generous recognition of the spiritual standing and service of our episcopal brethren we will join them, not simply in extending the Kingdom of God, but in widening the family consciousness of the children of the Father.

WHY IS PERSONALISM UNPOPULAR?

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IN a previous article[1] an attempt was made to show that personalistic theism is by no means generally accepted among philosophers; and that many thinkers more or less allied with personalism in certain aspects of their thought nevertheless decline to go the whole way and affirm belief in personality as the deepest thing in being. Not philosophers alone, we saw, but even religious leaders of various types are more or less unwilling in these days to commit themselves to faith in an objective personal God. This is an extraordinary situation, which it is more important to understand than to denounce; a situation which appears to be due not entirely to the logic of the various philosophies, but also (and very largely) to a certain state of mind in the spirit of the times, due to many complex causes. There is doubtless interaction between the state of mind and the philosophies; each affects and molds the other. Indeed, as Professor Armstrong once showed, what we call common sense is to a large extent the product of the critical reflection of former generations; and theories seep down to the thinking of the man on the street oftener than he himself realizes. In seeking to explain such a state of affairs, it is above all important to avoid the error of over-simplification.

Windelband, in his famous History of Philosophy, has pointed out that three factors cooperate in influencing the development of philosophical systems; namely, the biographical, that is, the personality of the thinker; the cultural, that is, the civilization in which he lives; and the pragmatic, or the pure logic of the *pragma* or thing under discussion (this use of the term has no relation to pragmatism). Following Windelband's suggestion, but modifying his terminology, we shall assume that the causes for the unpopularity of personalism may be found either in logical, or temperamental, or social factors.

First of all, let us examine the logical factors that tell against

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personalism and so conduce to its unpopularity. To call these factors logical does not imply their cogency, but only the fact that they arise from and are supported by considerations which direct their appeal to the logical understanding. The most important of these logical factors may be grouped under six heads.

First is the complexity of the problem. This consideration is not strictly a logical argument, but it is a characteristic of the logical situation that explains and even excuses much of the confusion that reigns regarding the self. In order to do full justice to the problem of personality (human or divine), it is necessary to take account of the results of investigations in the fields of ethics, logic, epistemology, metaphysics, philosophy of religion, psychology (normal and abnormal, general and social), biology, sociology and who knows what other fields of history, anthropology and the like. To envisage the problem with full competence requires a mastery of an enormous body of conclusions, combined with a sound and judicious interpretative faculty. In the midst of such a maze, it is not strange that some do err from the way.

Secondly, there is the argument from rigor and vigor. This familiar old specter insists that nothing is to be believed save necessary truths and their necessary consequences. A moderate rigor-and-vigorist might concede that the self is, in some sense, a necessary truth, but he would contend that, even if it is a necessary truth, it is of no speculative importance because it has no necessary consequences. And a personalist must indeed admit that from the bare fact that "I am I" no further consequences necessarily follow, save the bootless tautology that I am not non-I. It would not be appropriate to expound in this connection the objections to rigor and vigor as a method; but from a consideration of this argument we may be led to emphasize the truth that personality is not the kind of principle in philosophy that is calculated to help an F. H. Bradley, as he says, "to understand" experience. That is, it is not a premise from which deductions may be made, but an hypothesis to unify knowledge, experience, values, all of life; and a center of free and creative energy which ought to obey logic, but is not produced by logic. Pure logic,

indeed, cannot do much with personality, which is life itself, and is, as Bowne told us, not to be explained by its own categories.

Thirdly, there is the argument from coherence, which, after all, is only an illustration of rigor and vigor. It is employed with most telling force by Professor Bosanquet and his followers, and its logic strongly affects Windelband and probably also Eucken. This argument runs somewhat as follows: The only way of knowing that any judgment is false is to discover contradictions involved in the assumption of its truth. The only way of knowing one to be true is to show that it is self-consistent and consistent with all other true judgments. But this leads to the recognition of an absolutely organized truth, one system, completely consistent, in which everything is included. This system is then asserted to be the only reality, the whole reality of the universe. But since it is all-inclusive, it cannot be a person, but includes all that we mean by personalities as finite phases of it, which are somehow overcome or transcended in the absolute whole. Personality, therefore, is not ultimate. It is impossible within the limits set by the present discussion to attempt a refutation of this and other arguments against personalism. But it may be pointed out that this absolute idealism or speculative philosophy intends to deduce an entire world-view from a purely logical ideal, and therefore is open to all the objections that lead a personalist to reject rigor and vigor. It further commits what seems to a personalist the fallacy of identifying truth about reality with reality itself. M'Taggart's system shows that the absolute oneness of the whole does not lead so necessarily to a denial of the principle of personality as some Hegelians assume. It should be added that the whole notion of a coherent and organic whole of truth has been vigorously attacked by pragmatists and neo-realists. While their attack is an excessive reaction against the block-universe of the equally excessive coherence theory, it indicates at least that personalists are not the only ones to feel dissatisfaction with such a view of things. Bergson is obviously also an instance of this same dissatisfaction.

Fourthly, there is the argument from analysis, developed chiefly by neo-realists. According to the new realism, analysis

is the one and only instrument of knowledge. Applying that instrument to what is called personality, they find no end of elements: blue yellow, sweet, points in space, instance in time, relations such as greater-than and less-than, universals—in short all the entities which go to make up the world of experience. Blueness they know, but what, they ask, is consciousness? For their analysis reveals no entity distinguishable as consciousness. What we have called by that name is completely analyzed into these elements and relations. Consciousness and personality, therefore, may be explained in terms of their elements. Now this theory has many affinities, more or less overtly acknowledged, with the sensationalism of Hume and Spencer, and hence is exposed to the fire of all the heavy artillery that Bowne brought to bear on these gentlemen. In addition, two special observations may be made. In the first place, granting the validity of the method of analysis, we may rightly question whether the realistic analysis has done justice either to the unique fact of self-consciousness as the most significant element, or to the unique relation of all the other elements to the self. In the second place, we may inquire whether the assumption that analysis is the only instrument of knowledge is true to the actual procedure of science or of life. Is there not also another method, akin to Eucken's spiritual activity or to Bergson's intuition, a method of insight, of creative imagination, of faith? Is there not, in short, a personalistic method which is both prior and supplementary to analysis? If there is such a method, as all progress in science as well as all morality and religion presuppose, the analysis argument against personality loses its force. Personality may not be discovered as an element, but seen, intuited, as a living and unifying whole.

Fifthly, there is the argument from abnormal psychology. Personalism makes self-consciousness the ultimate unit of what is real. Abnormal psychology appears to pulverize the self into multiple personalities, indeed, to annihilate it as anything more than a temporary integration of elements themselves neither personal nor rational. The Freudians, for instance, make it appear only as the instrument or the effect of the subconscious. These difficulties are serious, and constitute a peremptory chal-

lenge to the personalist. There is, however, a disposition in some quarters unduly to magnify the effect of abnormal psychology on the metaphysics of the self. It is by no means clear that the contributions of Freud and others involve any new metaphysical problem essentially different from that which personalism has always faced in the perplexing fact of the nightly interruption of our consciousness caused by sleep. A proper understanding of the time-transcending function of personality and of the fact of self-identification, together with a due recognition of the sense in which free and finite personality is dependent on the Infinite Supreme Person, will, I believe, furnish clues to a personalistic solution of the difficulties of abnormal psychology. But it must be admitted that this work has not yet been adequately done in the light of the present state of psychology.

Sixthly, there is the argument from physiological psychology. The apparent dependence of personality on neural processes is so familiar a fact and philosophy has so thoroughly discussed the problems involved that this argument need only be mentioned for the sake of completeness. The physiological argument has a certain plausibility. But however plausible the argument may be for the dependence of that tenuous and intermittent process called consciousness on that solid and relatively permanent reality called nervous system, that plausibility vanishes when we consider the nature and work of consciousness. That a mind which explores past, present and future, grasps universal meanings, has the property of transcending itself and the whole time-order in every act of thought, builds up the worlds of science and philosophy—that such a mind should be a property or function of brain is anything but plausible, it is inconceivable.

Seventhly, there is the argument from behavioristic psychology. Personalism is a form of philosophy peculiarly dependent on psychology. If the extreme form of the new psychology of behaviorism is true, personalism is untrue. Behaviorism is based on two facts: the fact that we cannot directly observe the contents of another's consciousness, and the fact that we can observe the behavior through which he expresses his consciousness—such as his movements and his words. Now the behaviorist is a

conscientious scientist. Science, he holds, must deal with phenomena that can be tested and verified. "Consciousness," so called, we can test and verify only in ourselves; and it would be absurd, he argues, to base a science of human consciousness in general on the subjective facts of one private mind. If psychology is to be a science, its object can no longer be consciousness, but must be the observable behavior which occurs when we are conscious. When afraid, we run; when shocked, we blush; when thinking, we mutter words subvocally. Behaviorism holds that running and blushing and muttering can be studied experimentally and fruitfully; how we feel when we fear, or are shocked, or think is unknowable to the psychologist or to anyone but ourselves. Now all these facts are true enough. And if behaviorism were only a plea for a certain method in the study of biological phenomena accompanying consciousness, plus the admission that the true meaning of personality is metaphysical and hence not to be exhausted by any empirical psychology, then it would be an important contribution to science without affecting the personalistic standpoint in the least. But extreme behaviorism goes one step further, and a very long step it is. It argues that since psychology deals only with behavior, and since *entia non multiplicanda sunt praeter necessitatem,* it is the most natural thing in the world to bow consciousness out of the field of existence to dally in the realm of non-being with the God who is a superfluous hypothesis! Or, if the word is to be retained, the formula becomes, Consciousness is behavior. How the meaning of such entities as ideals, or mathematical points, or self-consciousness, or (as Montague aptly queries) the consciousness of behavior itself can be adequately expressed in behavior remains a mystery. Despite the mystery involved, behaviorism has the allegiance, or at least the respect, of a very large number of psychologists. Personalists cannot dispose of such a movement by a mere gesture of disapproval; thought, rather than behavior, is needed if the unpopularity of personalism due to logical reasons is to be combated.

Having examined the chief logical bases of the unpopularity of personalism, we are ready to turn to what I have called the temperamental factors that enter into the situation. These refer

to the extra-logical prejudice or bent of mind that colors the thinking of every man, however honestly he may intend to pursue the truth. If the temperamental factor were the dominant one, the result would be a chaos of irrational assertions. Fortunately, in the case of most philosophers it is not dominant, and, fortunately again, in the course of mutual criticism and debate, attention comes to be focused on the real merits of the issue, and temperamental differences are more or less canceled out. But every age, as well as every individual, also has its temperament, and this complicates the situation.

Professor Hoernlé has recently expanded a suggestion made by Bertrand Russell that there are ascetics and voluptuaries of belief as well as of the flesh. The ascetics are those that rejoice in not believing, that find a peculiar blessedness in denying themselves hope or comfort; who gladly renounce God, and immortality, and all that savors of optimism, lest they be led astray from their devotion to pure thought. Of such, on his own confession, is Mr. Russell himself. The voluptuaries are those that surfeit themselves with excesses of belief; that find "joy in believing" every suggestion that appeals to them, whether it makes sense or not; *credunt quia absurdum.* From this type of temperament are drawn the Ouija board devotees, the spiritualists, the come-outers and faddists of religion. Needless to say, ascetic and voluptuary alike (much as Mr. Russell would be horrified by this turn of thought) is non-rational in his position, being determined in his beliefs by his likes and dislikes, rather than by a fair weighing of all the evidence.

If I were permitted to add a third type, I should mention the blasé, the sort of mind represented by Koheleth, who has seen everything and knows that there is nothing in it. A reviewer writing in the *British Journal of Psychology* (9, 1918-19) was smartly blasé when he remarked that he had little interest in new philosophical systems for the same reason that Coleridge had for not believing in ghosts. "No, madam, no; I have seen too many of them." This is doubtless the common-sense attitude to take in some cases, but carried to an extreme it is a skeptical positivism, or, worse yet, intellectual laziness. It is a mood incompatible

with faith or great achievement of any kind, whether in philosophy or in life.

It so happens that these three temperaments, of the ascetic, the voluptuary, and the blasé, are rather unusually abundant in the twentieth century; and their numbers have been increased since the war. The ascetic and the voluptuary are alike in taking things seriously, even tensely; the blasé is simply indifferent and stagnant. But the three types are alike in contributing to the unpopularity of personalism. In so far as voluptuaries of belief espouse personalism they injure rather than help its prestige in the intellectual world. In some degree, I fear, this fact, together with the scornful disdain of the ascetic and the unruffled nonchalance of the blasé, has much to do with the unpopularity of personalism. An ascetic tendency, furthermore, probably plays a part in the final impersonalism of men like Höffding, or in the atheism of a M'Taggart. The voluptuary may, as I have said, be a personalist; indeed, a Bertrand Russell would rank all personalists forthwith as voluptuaries; but personalism ought to perform a Gideon's band operation and eliminate the undesirables. Some campaigners prove to be bad for the success of their candidates. The voluptuary does not expound or clarify. He does not interpret. In no real sense is he a philosopher. He believes earnestly and eloquently; he is a tempest on a dark night. He overlooks Hamlet's advice to the players: "In the very torrent, tempest, and, as I may say, the whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness. O, it offends me to the soul to see a robustious periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings, who for the most part are capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb-shows and noise." The result is to "make the unskillful laugh" and "the judicious grieve."

The third main group of reasons for the unpopularity of personalism is what I have called the social factor. This takes many forms, and affects both philosophers and religious leaders. Let us survey some of the more important social influences that tend to make personalism unacceptable.

The outstanding factor here is the dominance, not to say

arrogance, of the natural sciences. To natural science all philosophy is strange and foreign; and to many scientists it is anathema. How much more is this true of a type of philosophy that recognizes personality and values and God! There is no doubt that a sort of spiritual terrorism has been exercised against philosophers by many scientists. The conflict between science and philosophy is now more important than that between science and religion.

The clash between the philosophical and the religious point of view also operates to the detriment of the personalistic cause. The former postulates an objective love of truth, irrespective of its consequences for life: no considerations other than those of sound thought should influence the thinker. The latter postulates a subjective and objective love of God, and faith in him, and has the most intense concern for the presence or absence of this love, and its fruits, in life. It is one of the profound tragedies of life that these two sacred impulses, which must be forms of one impulse, should clash, as life and matter clash in Bergson's system. It often happens that the philosophical lover of truth does not come at once to a conclusion obviously agreeable to accepted religion; and likewise does it happen that the religious lover of God, impatient with the processes of thought, rejects some of the best established results of science or of philosophy, thus blaspheming the divine Logos, that is, reason. It is well to reread Bowne's essay, The Church and the Truth. Further, philosophers fear to be charged with seeking favor from the economically and socially powerful church; fear to be called by the name "theologian"; desire to conciliate and to stand well among their non-religious colleagues. Subtle influences thus combine to render one who is honestly convinced of the truth of personalism timid and hesitant about expressing his convictions. It may be that some such forces have played about the life of a man like Eucken, and are an important reason for his increasingly vague thought about the Spiritual Life.

Another influential social factor is the diminished interest in philosophy among those whose natural bent would be toward personalism, namely, the leaders of Christian life in America, and, to some extent, in the whole world. This seems to be due to two

outstanding reasons: the pressure of practical interests and the increased concern for the social problem. It is not necessary to dilate upon the first of these reasons. The task of the modern minister is so great as to be impossible of fulfillment. The situation cries aloud for radical reform. But meanwhile, philosophy is neglected. In the case of the devotion to social problems, the neglect of philosophy is due to different causes. Here we have, not a confused distraction, but a flaming evangel, a prophetic consciousness of the supreme practical problem of our age. But exclusive attention to any one subject breeds not only interest and intensity of conviction; it also breeds, or may breed, narrowness of vision and lack of sympathy and insight. Many social reformers see the practical needs so intensely as to have lost all faith in the church. Others, still within the church, see the social need in almost exclusively economic terms. No one to-day can overestimate the need of Christianizing the industrial order. But in recognizing this truth, it is quite possible to overlook values which ultimately are much more important than the establishing of right economic relations. A worthy ethical ideal for the whole of life, a reasonable thought of God and man's relations to him, these things are essential to him who hopes to help make civilization Christian.

Now, actually many devoted social workers have become impatient with philosophers and all their works—for philosophy does not seem destined to produce industrial democracy overnight. Hence even Christian leaders have occasionally given utterance to an opposition to philosophy which, taken literally, implies a positivism as atheistic as that of Comte, the founder of social science. They may not mean to deny any metaphysical reality to God; they may not intend atheism. They may mean that they are so devoted to Christ that they are willing to accept him and his teachings without any question, and without any intellectual justification for so doing. But this cheerful faith is on the highway that leads back to obscurantism and superstition. It is equally fatal to exaggerate or to underestimate the work that philosophy can do. The exaggeration leads to dogmatism and intellectualism which embalms value; the underestimate, to a skepticism which

destroys them. In neither form are values exactly kinetic energy.

The consequences of this neglect of philosophy are inevitable. It means a surrender of the field of metaphysics by those who have the most practical concern in it to those whose interests are non-religious or antireligious. Every intellectually competent clergyman who says within himself, "I am not interested in philosophy," thus indirectly contributes to the victory of impersonalism. It will not do for the busy pastor, who is also the expert in religion, to say that his philosophical thinking should be done for him by the professional philosophers; any more than it would do for the busy physician, the expert in bodily health, to leave it to the professors to keep up with the progress of medical science. If they did, there would be an unpopularity of medical science like unto the unpopularity of personalism.

We have the main facts before us. The unpopularity of personalism, as has been said, is not the whole truth about the situation. There are numerous encouraging signs, which lead us to expect a renaissance of personalistic philosophy in the coming years. But at present there is an actual condition that must be remedied before the renaissance will arrive. Let us close this discussion with a statement of some possible remedies.

The present condition cannot be healed by denunciations. Wrath is singularly unconvincing to the philosophical mind. Nor can it be improved (to change the metaphor) by the ostrich-method of burying one's head in the sand, and denying the presence of the unseen foe. Too often the young man or woman, perplexed by philosophical problems, is told to forget them in earnest service of others. In some instances this may be a wise manner of dealing with an individual. As a general attitude toward the philosophical problem it is futile. However hard we work at serving, the problems are there, and some one will have to face them.

Positively, conditions may be bettered in several ways. Personalistic philosophers should not allow themselves to be deterred by the social situation from expressing their position. Productivity of philosophical scholarship, then, is greatly needed. More attention should be paid to philosophy in our colleges and univer-

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sities. It should be encouraged in the performance of its function as the unifier and interpreter of life's values. Religious educators should follow the example of Professor Athearn in recognizing the fundamental necessity of a philosophical background if the machinery and methods of pedagogical science are to have either soul or goal. The clergy should read more philosophy, and, if the suggestion be not too bold, come to think more philosophically. This will result in more theological preaching, more interpretation of the fundamentals of religion in terms intelligible and helpful to our age. It will help the pastor to understand and enlighten the thoughtful young people of his flock. And it will play its part in molding the total intellectual atmosphere of our times. It is not to be expected that the outcome will be a complete triumph of theistic personalism. In this world, agreement on truth is not wholly attainable; no more than complete victory of good over evil. But the light of the eternal may yet shine brighter in this world of change, if men are loyal. Each one must follow the gleam that he sees. He who believes that the truth is to be found in terms of personality, human and divine, has a task set for him by his ideal that will not be set aside by reason of any temporary unpopularity of his cause.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN THE GOSPELS

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GIVEN a God, a personal God—something more than a cold block of marble or the colder abstraction of a philosopher's brain —one who knows and rules and loves; given also, Man, with his little life of mystery vanishing at either end in greater mysteries still; let him, endowed with reason, passion, and affection, have to sound his dim and perilous way down the stream of Time to an unknown sea, and we possess the known quantities of an equation whose unknown quantity will be a Revelation—such a Revelation as we find in the Bible.

But any revelation of God to man must necessarily have to contend with two grave difficulties: first, in regard to the subject-matter of revelation, and, second, in regard to the imperfect media of communication. We may reasonably assume that God would not disclose what we by searching might find out for ourselves. The plane of revelation comes down and intersects the planes of reason and of sense; but, for the most part, it lies above and beyond these. It has to do with the unknown, the unseen; the spiritual rather than the material. From the very first it makes demands upon our faith, opening up new worlds of thought—paths which Sense knoweth not, and which the vulture-eye of Reason hath not seen. And then there is the second difficulty: that of compressing these truths, so varied and so vast, into common speech—the difficulty of making God's great thoughts run on the narrow gauge of human language. When Paul was carried up to the "third heavens" he heard things which it was not lawful, or "not possible," to utter. With all his familiarity with Greek and Hebrew poetry, and with the Eastern license for hyperbole, he confesses that language fails him, that in all the storehouse of human speech there is no robe ample enough to clothe the vision he has seen. Let Science make a discovery, and this difficulty meets her at once. She brings forth some new fact, and lo! she has no swaddling clothes in which to enwrap it, and she sets to work to weave them. Our works of science are so full of technicalities and of

words newly coined just because Science cannot well put her new wine into the old, well-worn bottles of common speech. And, by the way, will not this explain to us many of the apparent divergencies and discrepancies of Scripture, this inadequacy of expression? God does not give us the whole truth at once; he gives it in fragmentary portions (Heb. 1. 1)—a half-truth here and a half-truth there. Read by themselves they may appear antagonistic and even contradictory; but put them together and each is the complement to the other; and they form a beautiful and rounded whole. Truth does not lie in straight lines, but in spheres; and if, taking Infinite Mercy as our starting point, and we sail far enough, we shall reach that other pole of Infinite Justice. Both lie on the same meridian; antipodal truths we might call them, their apparent contradiction being in fact a real harmony.

But, before we pass to the Gospels and the human element we find there, let us look at the other element common to all Scripture, the divine. To what extent does this appear? or, in other words, what is the measure of inspiration in these sacred records? Our word "inspiration" occurs but twice in the two Testaments; and in one of these (Job 32. 8) there is no reference to the Scriptures. Its primary meaning is that divine influence, or divine breathing upon a man, which enables him to do what by his natural and unaided powers would not be possible. And so the cunning work of the old tabernacle, the knops and bowls and pomegranates, was as really the product of an inspiration as these canonical books of our Bible; for, says the Lord concerning Bezaleel, "I have filled him with the Spirit of God in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship" (Exod. 31. 3). So, too, in the Old Testament men were inspired to *act* out the will of the Lord, as others were inspired to write out that same will; and as we read the lives of judges and prophets, as we see a Saul prophesying at Bethel, or a Samson smiting the Philistines at Lehi, we see how men of old could be "moved by the Holy Ghost."

We use the word, however, in a higher and more definite sense, as signifying that divine influence resting upon the sacred writers "by which they were qualified to communicate moral and

religious truth with authority." But what was the measure of this influence? Was it a fixed and constant quantity, measuring each sentence, weighing each word, no matter whether those sentences had to record some recent event, or whether they spoke of an event that was far away in the haze of the future? Was the divine element an agitated sea in which man's personality was drowned? Did that breath of inspiration unman the man, petrifying all that was human, turning him into a Memnon statue, an articulate stone? That was an opinion held by many, and held for a long time. "They neither spake nor wrote any word of their own, but uttered syllable by syllable, as the Spirit put it into their mouths, no otherwise than the harp or the lute doth give a sound according to the direction of his hands that holdeth and striketh it with skill."

According to this view the sacred writers were not persons but things, not agents but instruments, not penmen but pens. Now, to a certain extent, this is true. We find sometimes an inspiration so overwhelming and complete that the agent is carried away; he is as though he were not; his thoughts are God's thoughts; his words are the words of the Lord. The man is nothing but an Æolian lyre, vibrating to the breath of the Spirit. When the son of Beor sees in his trance the "Star rising out of Jacob"; when we find his own will overborne by a stronger will; when we see the curses of his heart transmuted by a strange alchemy into blessings that the unwilling lips fling down on the white tents of Israel—we see something not unlike the so-called mania of olden times. When we see prophets describing events that still lie veiled by intervening years; or when we see men suddenly carried over all laws of association and of thought, speaking words whose meaning they themselves cannot guess, we see an inspiration of the highest type—the human lost in the divine. These are the ecstasies of a Pythoness; the tripod now standing, not in the temple of Apollo, but in the temple of Christ; the inspiration flowing, not from the fumes of sulphur, nor from waters that have trickled down from Parnassus, but coming down from above, borne on those diviner waters that flow from Calvary.

But all Scripture is not thus given. Sometimes the divine element sinks out of sight, and the human appears prominent, as in the historical books of the Old Testament. These would not require any special gift or power from on high. They are not laws beyond the wit of man to devise; they are not the record of events long since buried in oblivion, nor the foretelling of events yet to come; they are a simple, unvarnished statement of facts, in no wise differing from other historical records. They do not demand credence on the ground that they were inspired, but simply on the ground that they were true. Grant that they are truthful histories, and you want nothing more; no degree of inspiration would give them any additional weight. It is evident, then, that when we speak of these sacred writers as being inspired, we do not mean that the inspiration was in all cases the same, that they were under the divine influence in equal measure. It was the same divine power, but it operated in different degrees and in different modes.

The Jews were wont to make a distinction between the prophets proper and the *Hagiographi*—the sacred writers. The one wrote, so they say, under the inspiration of suggestion, the divine Spirit giving them some *visum propheticum,* some manifest vision, and then inditing the very words. The others were under the inspiration of direction, the divine Spirit giving them a thesis, and directing them as to what events they should record and what they should omit; but leaving them to seek and use what extraneous helps they might see fit; yet at the same time guarding them from error in the use of them. When, then, Saint Peter tells us that "men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Pet. 1. 21), he does not mean that they were carried out of themselves, beyond themselves, mere straws borne along on an impetuous torrent; there was still room for research and for the play of all human faculties. How intimate may be this blending of the human and divine Saint Paul himself shows us; for in one of his epistles (1 Cor. 7. 40), when writing of the manifest will of God, he stays to interject an opinion of his own. He confesses that he is not sure as to its being the will of God. He says, "I think that I also have the Spirit of God"; and he takes care to

guard these doubtful points with the parentheses, "after my judgment," "this I say by way of permission, not of commandment" (5. 6). The written word comes to us like the Incarnate Logos, wearing an Eastern, a Jewish dress; but beneath that dress is the twofold nature joined in indissoluble union. Now, as we gaze upon it, we hear the accents of human speech, we see the lines of human care, and we cry with Pilate, "Behold the man!" Then again it shines with such transcendent glory—the outer dress wearing a glittering whiteness which no fuller's art can rival—that we bow before it with devoutest homage, and our hearts, subdued and awed, can only cry, "My Lord and my God!" The human and the divine form but one Word, and, like the Incarnate Word, it is but the outer voice of the inner heart of God—infinite Love vocalized so that man may hear it.

Following the division we have already made, the four Gospels would come under the inspiration of direction, the divine Spirit selecting these four evangelists in preference to others, "moving" them to take up the task, and then qualifying them for it. Saint Luke prefaces his Gospel with the reason which led him to engage in the work; and, as we read it, we see a thought germinating in the mind, growing up into a blade of desire, then developing into an ear of resolve, and at last ripening into the full corn of deliberate, determined action. It is a human mind we see at work, the ordinary processes of human thought. But whence came that "Forasmuch"? Who sowed in his mind this springing and germinant thought? Here we come back directly to the mysterious line where the human and the divine are merged in each other. In the four Gospels we have, not four lives, but four sides of one life, written by four separate men, from four different standpoints, and, as is very probable, with four distinct aims. Now it is impossible that this can be done without apparent discrepancies. No four men could sit down and write a life, even in our age of pens and paper, when nearly everything is committed to writing, without presenting what we should call anomalies and contradictions. Let two witnesses appear in a court of law, both spectators of the same occurrence; let them describe it exactly in the same words, and their evidence would be weakened by the

suspicion of collusion. Apparent differences in parts are a strong proof of the genuineness of the whole. We grant that there are these discrepancies in the narratives of the four Gospels; nay, more, we affirm that if our Gospels be true, these discrepancies of statement must be there as a matter of necessity. And it is just here that a due recognition of the human element in the Gospels is so important; it is the missing link that binds in one compact whole an otherwise broken chain.

Now we may expect that each Gospel, while telling accurately the story of the life of Christ, will have a peculiar coloring borrowed from the life of the writer. In studying men we must remember that what we call character is a sum total, the resultant of many factors. The very skies under which a man is born exert an influence upon his life. The physical aspects of the country impinge upon his mind; and he who would paint a John the Baptist, the stern and rough ascetic, must take for his background the rugged hills of Judea and the Jordan wilderness. And especially upon our language do the surroundings of our life exert an influence. "Speak, that I may know you," said Socrates to one who was hiding behind a mask of silence. Go where we will our dialect will betray us; the scenes and incidents of our life will filter through our speech. In the poetry of Wordsworth we breathe the air of the Lake Country, musical with the splash of mountain streams, and redolent of clover; while in Tennyson we have the Wold or the half-sullen fen, the distant shore, with the incessant "break" and swash of the tired waves. If we turn to the Psalms of David we find word photographs of all the scenes which filled up his eventful life, from the cave of Adullam to the heights and solitudes of the hill Mizar. So is it in the Gospels. Saint Matthew, in chapter seventeen, gives an account of the scene at Capernaum, when Peter is asked, "Doth not your Master pay tribute?" and then he tells of the miracle of the fish with the silver stater in its mouth. But this incident is not referred to by any other of the three evangelists; and why should Matthew be so particular and so precise? We can easily understand. Matthew himself had been a collector of dues; and very possibly he himself had asked at his receipt of custom the very question propounded

to Peter. It is just such an incident as would fasten itself upon the mind of the quondam tax gatherer, waking up the memories and associations of his earlier life. So in that other narrative, where the Herodians seek to entrap Jesus by the question about paying tribute. In Saint Mark and Saint Luke Jesus says, "Show me a penny"; but Matthew flies at once to the language of the custom house, "Show me the tribute money." Mark and Luke give it the popular name, the "denarius"; but in the custom house it is something more than a denarius; it is *τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου*. It is the language of officialism, stilted and pompous; and we can almost see the publican Jew levying his blackmail upon his countrymen—asking for their gold that Cæsar's mint may turn it into fetters, and screwing up his courage to the task by saying to himself, "It is *τὸ νόμισμα*" established by law! It is a shred of Roman red tape, which clothed the government officer with a show of brief authority; and Matthew's pen catches instinctively this echo from the custom house. So, too, in the statement about Judas and the betrayal. Mark and Luke simply say, "They covenanted to give him money"; but Matthew, whose training in a government office has taught him exactness in financial matters, tells us how much the price was, and weighs out to us the thirty pieces of blood-money.

About the life of Saint Mark we know comparatively little; but this is immaterial, as it is generally admitted that Saint Mark acted as a kind of amanuensis to the apostle Peter. It is then Peter's voice we may expect to hear as, Rhodalike, we listen by the gate of the second Gospel. Quick, impetuous, and impulsive, Saint Peter was ready for any emergency. If he had possessed our modern weakness for heraldic symbols what motto for his crest had been so suitable as that one word *εὐθεως*, "straightway"? It is the watchword of Saint Mark's Gospel, occurring more frequently than in the three other Gospels together. And what could be more characteristic of the man, so swift of speech and prompt in deed? There is one word used in this Gospel, and which is found also in the Gospel by Saint John, which Matthew and Luke do not use, the word *πλοιάριον*, "a little ship." Matthew and Luke, the two landsmen, use only the generic *πλοῖον*; but Peter

and John, the two lake-men, make a distinction in name, as there was, doubtless, a difference in the build, and six times use the diminutive πλοιάριον, little ship, or boat (Mark 3. 9; 4. 36).

Saint Mark, speaking of the woman with the issue, says, "She had suffered many things of many physicians." There is a certain amount of harshness about this expression, as if these physicians were heartless empirics, who stopped at no torture if they could only carry on their experiments. But when Saint Luke tells the story he tempers down the severity. He puts a veil over the sufferings caused by unskillful hands, and simply says, "She had spent all her living upon physicians." It is Luke, the "beloved physician," who now writes; and we only give him credit for what is perfectly natural, when we admit that his statement of the fact is toned by a keen sense of professional honor.

A medical man, by the demands of his calling, is brought especially into contact with feminine nature and life. He knows, as none other does, the burdens, pains, and anguish of maternity; and, as a matter of course, his sympathies are quickened toward womankind. And how this element pervades Saint Luke's Gospel! Likening these four books to the structure of the temple, Saint Luke's Gospel is the Court of the Women. It is he who tells us of the meeting of Elisabeth and Mary up in the hill country, and of the babe leaping in the womb. It is he who gives us that sublime song, which the church will never let die, the Magnificat, which is the outgushing of a maternal heart. It is he who tells us of the woman with the lost piece of silver; and it is his hand that draws for us the picture of the two sisters of Bethany, love in action and love in rest. He alone records the names of Susannah and Joanna, the elect ladies who followed Jesus, and ministered to him of their substance. He alone tells us of the widow whom the unjust judge was slow to avenge; and of the "women" following Jesus to the cross. It is all through the heart of a "physician beloved."

So, too, in the fourth Gospel. It is very probable that Saint John spent part of his early life at Jerusalem; and from the fact of his being acquainted with the high priest (John 18. 15), we

might conjecture that he had some function in the service of the temple. Recent writers have been trying to prove, from the frequent references to the temple in the Revelation, that John not only might, but that he must have had an intimate acquaintance with its routine and ritual; that none but one who was personally familiar with the temple service, and who himself had been behind the scenes, could have written the Book of the Revelation. Let this be granted, and what a flood of light is poured upon this Fourth Gospel! It is the Christ of Judea it portrays, as the others tell of the Christ of Galilee. You can put nearly the whole Gospel within a ten-mile circle, taking Jerusalem as the center. No longer do we see the teeming bird life of Gennesaret, or the lilies and grass of Galilee; but we have instead the "vines" of the terraced mountain side and the palms of Olivet. It is John who marks his calendar by the old Jewish feasts, threading ecclesiastical phrases all through his narrative. Witness the following: "at the feast;" "midst of the feast;" "the last, the great day of the feast; "the feast of tabernacles;" "the Jews' passover was nigh at hand;" "buy those things that we have need of against the feast;" these are all expressions peculiar to this Gospel. It is Saint John who tells us of the raising to life of Lazarus, and of the cure of the blind man in Jerusalem. It is he who tells us how Jesus "sat" (was accustomed to sit) over against the treasury; and he alone records that temple scene—if, indeed, the record be part of his Gospel—how Jesus took the part of the woman whom the Pharisees were accusing (8. 1-11). It is John who tells us how Jesus was brought before the council of priests; and how some of the chief rulers believed on him. It is John who tells us of the pool of Siloam; of the "brook Kedron;" and that Gethsemane was a "garden." It is John who speaks of "the pavement of Golgotha"; of Joseph's garden, and of his "new sepulcher"—all of which the others omit. The others speak of "a great multitude" coming to take Jesus; but John, perhaps recognizing familiar faces, tells us that it was not a disorganized rabble, but an organized band, under the command of "officers" and a "captain." Saint Mark, speaking of Peter's swift sword-stroke, tells us how he "smote a servant of the high priest"; but John, who has a more intimate acquaintance

with the household of the high priest, tells us "the servant's name was Malchus."

While, then, it is one life that the evangelists describe, or rather, parts of one life, we see that divine life through a human medium. If one records events omitted by others, if at times the same fact be expressed in somewhat different terms, it is only what we have a reason and a right to expect. The divine Spirit might, and did, guide them, but he made use of their several temperaments, calling into play those laws of association, affinity, and taste which are a part of our constitution.

But the human element appears in the Gospels—as in fact it does in all Scriptures—in a second form; they are written after the ordinary methods of human speech. While we are not afraid of subjecting the Bible to the very same rules of criticism we apply to any other writings, still we claim for the Scriptures the same privilege, the same latitude of language that we allow to them. Without claiming for the Gospels a verbal inspiration we may claim for them a plenary inspiration, which is an inspiration more comprehensive and as complete. Though in our translations we have lost the *ipsissima verba*—as, indeed, we must—yet we have the same truths which those words embodied. What are words at best but an imperfect vehicle for thought, and oftentimes a drapery with which to conceal thought? Words change in their meaning, they grow old and become obsolete; but thought does not change, thought does not die. When man was formed in Eden there was a twofold process, a creation and an inspiration; the body was made, the soul was inbreathed. So language is but an outward covering for the thought-soul. And may we not have in these Gospels the double process repeated? The thought inspired, and then the language left for the mind of the evangelist to weave according to his own pattern? Thus, underneath the discrepancies of statement we shall find a harmony of sentiment; and when these veils of language are turned aside we shall recognize the face of the Thought we have seen elsewhere. For instance: According to Saint Matthew, Jesus said that "two sparrows are sold for one farthing"; but, according to Saint Luke, he said that "five sparrows are sold for two farthings." But let us get behind

this drapery of sparrows and farthings, and we shall find the same truth—that these birds are very insignificant creatures; and then this truth becomes part of the premise of the after-syllogism which proves the providence of God. Or we may take another illustration from the narrative which records the raising to life of Jairus's daughter. Saint Luke tells us that when the ruler came and knelt at Jesus's feet his only daughter "lay a-dying"; Saint Mark represents him as beseeching Christ greatly, and saying, "My little daughter lies at the point of death"; while, according to Saint Matthew, he says, "My daughter is even now dead." Now, at first sight these statements appear irreconcilable; but if we look through the mere phraseology we shall find an exact harmony of thought. It is simply a difference of tense; in one, the action or state is present; in the other, past. We find in the Greek language a remarkable vivacity, and such an interchanging of terms as our English language would not allow. Does a writer wish to bring a past event vividly to the mind, making it more real, more impressive, he brings it out of the past, and instead of the aorist he uses the historical present. We have an example in John 9. 13, where they "bring" the blind man to the Pharisees; and, again, in Saint Mark, 5. 15, when those who fed the swine "come" to Jesus. So, too, if a writer wishes to represent an action with an expression of energy, decision, or completeness, he remits it back into the past, and uses the aorist for the present; while a future action, in view of its nearness or certainty, may be conceived of as now doing, or as already done, and may be expressed by the present, aorist, or perfect. Let us apply these rules to the statement of Saint Matthew, "My daughter is even now dead." That is, the event is so near and so certain, that in the mind of the writer it has already happened. There is no chance of recovery, no room for hope. We have in our idiomatic English a phrase exactly analogous—"It is all over with him"; a phrase which, perhaps, would not bear a strict analysis, but which is most expressive, stamping at once the certainty of the event. Now, suppose that two persons are watching by the couch as the dying man lies in an unconscious stupor, and gasps for breath. One of them says, "The man is surely dying"; and the other answers, "Yes, it is all

over with him"; the two expressions would vary, but the underlying thought would be exactly the same. So, let the Gospels be interpreted in the light of common sense; let us test them by the same rules of criticism we apply to other writings, and many of the so-called difficulties will vanish.

There is a third mode in which the human element appears in the Gospels; and that is the different aim that prompts and guides the evangelists in their task. They do not take up the work in a chance, casual way; they do not throw the incidents into their stories at random, making a shapeless conglomerate; but each seems to have a well-defined purpose, his line of thought; and round this line of thought the incidents crystallize into beautiful and symmetrical shapes. They do not portray four Christs, but one Christ in four aspects; and as each views him from the standpoint of his own design he draws his lines of perspective accordingly. Whether there is any connection between the vision of Ezekiel and these Gospels we do not pretend to say. It may be only a fancy—or it may be something more—that recognizes in these four pictures the face of the lion, the face of an ox, the face of a man, and the face of an eagle; but if it is a fancy it is a pleasant one, and not altogether profitless. Saint Matthew shows us the face of the lion, Christ, the king. His book links the Old with the New Testament. He holds up the lamp of prophecy and flings its light full upon Christ, the Messiah.

He calls his book "the book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David"; and while Saint Luke tells us of the visit of the poor shepherds, who, since they have no other treasures to offer, open their hearts and lips, and pour out the fragrance of their gladness and their songs, Saint Matthew shows us the stately magi, asking, "Where is he that is born king of the Jews?" and their right royal gifts, "gold, and frankincense, and myrrh." In Saint Mark we see the face of the patient ox. It is Christ, the servant, going about doing good; bearing men's burdens; walking up and down the furrows of common life; carrying a yoke that is self-imposed; servant of all, whether bound to the plow or bound to the altar. In Saint Luke we see the face of a man. It is Christ the man, the Son of Man; and so this Gospel enters

minutely into the circumstances of his birth; it tells us of the perfect childhood and youth; it shows us the boy Jesus making the rabbis of the temple marvel. It is in this Gospel that we find expressions like these: "and when he was twelve years old;" "and Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature;" "and the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit;" "and Jesus himself was about thirty years of age;" "he came to Nazareth where he had been brought up." It is all through the Gospel of the humanity. But in Saint John we see the face of the eagle, Christ, the God. Instead of tracing his genealogy up to David, Abraham, and Adam, Saint John goes infinitely higher: "The Word was with God, and the Word was God." That sentence is the keynote running through the whole of the Fourth Gospel, and giving to its music such sublimity and grandeur. It is the Gospel of the discourses; the teacher not issuing from the porch of a Zeno, but coming down "from above." It is Christ, the Messiah, the unique Son of God.

Taking into account these and other forms in which the human element appears, in the Gospels, one by one the apparent difficulties and differences vanish. More than other lives these come stamped with authority, bearing the hall-mark of Heaven. Simple stories they are, and yet for nineteen centuries they have charmed the world, lifting up men and nations into a better, holier life. And why do they thus live—live in spite of scorn and sarcasm, in spite of the deadliest assaults and the keenest criticism? It is because there is a living Christ in them. He is their Alpha and Omega, their beginning and end. The mind that is darkened by sin may not discover him; he whose mind is dulled by prejudice or pride may see nothing but "men as trees walking"; but he whose eyes are opened by the Spirit's touch will see Jesus, the Christ, clothed in a seamless robe that is woven from the top throughout. Man will step aside; and, the evangelists themselves vanishing, like Moses and Elias, in the overshadowing cloud, nothing will be seen but "Jesus only," the perfect man, the perfect God!

MODERNISM IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

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MODERNISM, in the broadest use of the term, is the attempt to relate the old and the new. This is, of course, essentially different in attitude to so much of what has been called destructive criticism, on the one hand, and what is named obscurantism, on the other. It is evident that this general movement is by no means confined to Catholicism. There are not only Modernist Roman Catholics, but Modernist Anglicans, and even Modernists among the more liberal branches of Protestantism, as well as in Judaism and the church of Mohammed. A delightful picture of this mental temperament is found in one of the later novels of Mrs. Humphry Ward, The Case of Richard Meynell; in it a Modernist Anglican fights for reform while remaining within the church. It is possibly an indication of the times that this book, which was professedly a Robert Elsmere up to date, should treat the problem of Modernism so differently from its author's previous work. Elsmere found it necessary to leave the church when he attained to ideas not in accord with her traditional standards.

But the most striking phase of Modernism is that which has appeared in the Catholic Church. The name was applied there first. There also has been waged the most determined conflict. Within the fold of Catholicism we have had Modernism par excellence. Here, for several reasons, the conditions were much more fit for creating the conflict. Her doctrinal positions are more numerous and more thoroughgoing than in most other churches, and thus offer the widest target for the shafts of criticism. Moreover, her scholastic logic has bound these positions into so compact a system that a loss of any sort is quite apt to mean a complete disintegration. Other systems, more loosely organized, may stand the amputation of certain parts, but, as Father Tyrrell has happily put it, "Rome would bleed to death if she sacrificed her little finger."

The name Modernism has not been attached to this general movement save as it culminated in the reign of Pope Pius X, who occupied Peter's chair from 1903 to 1914. Objections in the nineteenth century to certain portions of the Catholic faith by members of the church had only served to strengthen the reactionary movement and mobilize the forces desiring no change in the church's immemorial attitude. Pius IX, Pope from 1846 to 1878, condemned in anticipation the Modernist tendencies of thought in his day by the well-known Syllabus of Errors of 1864. Six years later the Vatican Council affirmed the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope. Döllinger and the Old Catholics opposed this step, but to no avail. Ever since the Vatican Council, what might be termed neo-scholasticism has been dominant in the Roman Church. It was inevitable that renewed emphasis on mediæval ideas would bring inquiring minds in the church into trouble since our modern world has found many new things under the sun.

The successor of Pius IX was Leo XIII; during his pontificate (1878-1903) this reactionary movement continued. In an encyclical of 1879, known by its first words as *Aeterni Patris*, he recommended as the best system of philosophy that of Saint Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the scholars of the thirteenth century. This was scholasticism in its most worthy form, but it was scholasticism nevertheless. In 1893 Pope Leo declared that exegesis should be bound to patristic tradition, since the sacred writers could not disagree with one another and substantial errors could not coexist with inspiration. He admitted copyists' errors and deplored the loss of the divine originals. He also made the professors confine themselves to verbal criticism. In 1899 Leo addressed an important letter to Cardinal Gibbons, condemning what he called "Americanism," which seems to have consisted in the preference for the active instead of the contemplative virtues. It was aimed at the Paulists under the lead of Father Hecker, a converted Protestant. In that same year Pope Leo wrote an encyclical letter to the clergy of France on the study of church history. Among other things he declared: "Those who study church history ought never to lose sight of the fact that it contains a series of dog-

matic truths which impose themselves upon faith, and which no one is allowed to call in question."

In 1903 Pius X succeeded Leo. He was as reactionary as he was gentle and good. *Restaurare omnia in Christo* was his motto. But the Christ was a mediæval Christ. Pius actually believed that Mary Magdalene and Lazarus preached Christ in Marseilles, and that the house in which Jesus lived with Mary and Joseph at Nazareth was miraculously conveyed to Loreto in Italy in the thirteenth century. He has also declared it as his firm conviction that the patriarchs in their most deeply contemplative moments meditated on the immaculate conception. From such a man nothing but scholasticism was to be expected. Even the Biblical Commission appointed by his predecessor—it was Leo XIII's only concession to Modernism—was made reactionary by the appointment of a number of strong conservatives. It was in the reign of this Pope, Pius X, that Modernism in its strict sense appeared.

But even here there is a certain vagueness. Men who have differed with official orthodoxy on the philosophical side have been condemned as Modernists. Censure has also been made of the so-called Christian Democrats and the movement called *Le Sillon* in France, which has advanced social ideals with no theological heterodoxy. Members of *Le Sillon* believed that the church should not desire civil power, and Sangnier, its leader, and publisher of *La Démocratie*, submitted gladly to the Church Separation Act in France.

In Italy a movement somewhat like the socialistic tendencies of *Le Sillon* was under the lead of Murri, the inspirer of the National Democratic League. The address to the Pope called "What We Want" was the work of his friends. He did not believe in temporal power, but was of unimpeachable orthodoxy. Yet Murri and his followers were put under the ban, although repudiating all connection with theological Modernists. Since the church claims authority in morals as well as in faith, their orthodoxy was only partial at best. Another category of Modernism condemned by Pius X was the so-called Laicism or Presbyterianism. This was a protest against the centralization of the

Roman Church, and demanded constitutional guarantees against the caprices of authority. This democratic Catholicism was probably the most widespread of all the forms of Modernist thinking.

But the type of Modernism that to Pius X seemed the most insidious was the theological and critical brand. Father Tyrrell and other apologists for Modernism during the reign of Pius X considered this to be the real form. This phase of the movement dealt with the questions of critical and historical scholarship. As such it was very much opposed to the scholastic method. In "What We Want," an open letter to the Pope from a group of Italian priests, they declared: "How are we to induce men to accept as rules of faith and of the religious life the eternal truths of Christianity, seeing that they have reached us in formulas and conceptions which are the expression of a metaphysic no longer acknowledged as having objective value?" Still further, they protest: "A change has been wrought in modern intellectual conditions. Our habit of mind is at the opposite pole from that out of which our apologetic was built up. Religion, if it is to be accepted, cannot impose itself by means of a syllogism."

The Modernists delighted to call the scholastic philosophy by its correct name, Mediævalism. George Tyrrell published a reply to Cardinal Mercier of Belgium which received this title. In it he pictured the death-agony of Mediævalism in most graphic terms. "The world which it is your mission to evangelize," he declared to the orthodox cardinal, "has already slipped from your grasp. You have nothing to hold it by. Neither its intellectual nor its ethical nor its social nor its political ideas are yours. If it is interested in you at all, it is only as in a mediæval ruin where no sane man would seek shelter in a storm. The times are in labor with a new world whose characteristics are hard to divine from the obscure manifestations which herald its advent. But they will certainly not be those of the thirteenth or sixteenth century to which you would tie the cause of Catholic Christianity forever." This is pretty trenchant criticism coming from a Catholic. In short, the aim of Modernists was the overthrow of Mediævalism, not in the storm of conflict or by secession but through the disintegrating processes of intellectual light and spiritual heat.

With this point of view the movement progressed along the lines of thought affecting other communions as well. The late Father Tyrrell of England is probably the best known Modernist. At first a rigid scholastic of the Jesuit Order he passed, in his intense desire to make religion a living truth for living minds, to his great insistence on Christ and his simple message. Trouble began for him when he wrote what was later published under the title A Much Abused Letter, in which he endeavored to reconcile science and theology for a friend. It was due largely to Tyrrell that the movement received such wide and favorable notice. He was a master of English style, a man of keen intellect, and, above all, possessed of a deeply religious nature. He was expelled from the Society of Jesus in February of 1906, and deprived of the privilege of partaking of the holy sacraments in October of the same year. On his death in July, 1909, he was not allowed the rights of Catholic burial and found a resting place outside a Catholic cemetery.

This type of Modernism has expressed itself also in the novel. Fogazarro of Italy in his famous volume entitled The Saint did a great deal to make the Modernist position understood. As a devout Catholic his Saint was interested in freeing the church from the four evil spirits that assail her life, the spirit of falsehood, the spirit of sacerdotalism, the spirit of avarice, and the spirit of immobility. It is a deeply sincere utterance, yet this and the other works of Fogazarro were put on the Index. In May, 1911, another Modernist novel appeared under the title The Priest, which had as a subtitle, "A Tale of Modernism in New England, by the Author of the Letters to His Holiness Pope Pius X." This pictures the intellectual conflict and struggle of a young Catholic priest when he comes in contact with the problems of the modern world for which he had been totally unprepared by his theological training at Rome. In what appears to be largely an autobiography the great friend and helper of the priest is a Unitarian minister.

Theological Modernism was stronger in France than in any other European country; in fact, France might well be regarded as its cradle. Maurice Blondel, a Catholic professor of the University of Lille, published a Letter in 1896 in which he argued

for the need of a new apologetic for the church. In the following year a French Oratorian priest, Father Laberthonnière, published a book, The Religious Problem, on similar lines. A notable expression of French Modernism was the violent attack on the church made by the Abbé Houtin in his Crises of the Clergy.

But the most thoroughgoing exponent of the critical spirit in France was Alfred Loisy. This brilliant and learned scholar became Professor of Hebrew at the Catholic Institute of Paris, but was compelled to resign on account of his liberalizing tendencies when he published in 1893 Biblical Questions and the Inspiration of Scripture. A papal encyclical of Leo XIII, appearing in consequence, condemned higher criticism and declared the canonical books inspired so as to "exclude all error." Loisy then became chaplain of the Dominican convent at Neuilly and continued to write, but under an assumed name. Later he obtained a lay professorship in Paris. In 1900 his Religion of Israel was written to correct Renan's presentation of the subject; the book was censured. In 1902 he published his famous little book The Gospel and the Church, as an answer to Harnack's The Essence of Christianity. He objected to the idea that there had been a gradual declension in purity in the church, and said Harnack caricatured the original message of Christianity by reducing it to the Fatherhood of God. But in defending Jesus he drew a more radical picture than Harnack himself, declaring Jesus a personality, not a teacher, that his life comes to us only in legendary sources, and that the words put into his mouth are inaccurate. He considered the Christ of faith to be a development within the Catholic Church, and applied evolution to dogma.

Pius X came to the throne in August, 1903, and in December he publicly condemned Loisy's recent books on the ground that they were "calculated seriously to disturb the belief of the faithful in the fundamental dogmas of Catholic teaching, notably the authority of Scripture and tradition, the divinity of Christ, his infallible knowledge, the eucharist, the divine institution of the episcopate, and the sovereign pontificate." Loisy received this condemnation with respect, but reserved the rights of conscience and his opinions as an historian. In March of 1904 he resigned

his lectureship at the Sorbonne to devote his time to writing. Four years later he published two volumes on the synoptic Gospels. The tendencies in this treatment were advanced: he considered the account of the burial of Jesus by Joseph and the statement regarding the empty tomb as later than Paul in origin; the narratives of the infancy of Jesus were considered still later in date; he even declared that Jesus erroneously believed his own second coming to be in a short time. In 1908 he was excommunicated. He himself said regarding it: "Time is the great teacher; we would do wrong to despair either of our civilization or of the church. I have aimed at establishing principally the historical positions of various questions, and secondly the necessity for reforming more or less the traditional concepts." In Loisy the critical and historical positions reach their most radical form within the Catholic fold.

Because certain Modernists have gone rather far in their critical positions, as is quite apt to be the case in a reaction from a very conservative point of view, it is not to be thought that Modernism is pure rationalism. In the open letter of the Italian Modernists to Pope Pius they plainly indicated the real depth and sincerity of their purpose: "For us, profoundly Christian souls, religion is a divine reality, which kindles into life and exalts the souls of men. For us Christianity is the highest expression of religion thus conceived, and of Christianity in its turn we consider Roman Catholicism to be the amplest realization." After explaining that Catholicism is not doing what it should in the modern world, they say: "For even when the need of the existence of a supernatural and divine world, and of getting into personal communion with it, is felt, all the other questions of the religious problem must be solved by historical and psychological research, a method which remains hitherto unknown to our apologetic." In consequence, the great need is that Christianity should grapple with the modern world and make her appeal to men in terms of to-day. In other words, they would create a theology for the times.

They were aware that this "recognition of the psychological climate," as Mr. Balfour has put it, would be met with opposition.

In the world of Catholic thought this is nothing more nor less than a "theological revolution." In the conclusion of their letter they declare: "We know well that our word will have no weight with you; and to-morrow we are certain that espionage, censure, calumny will be renewed against us with redoubled vigor. Everything will be done to make us apostates. But we will stand firmly at our post, prepared to endure everything, to sacrifice everything except the truth. We mean to be not rebels, but sincere Catholics to the salvation of Christianity. Our rebellion will be, at the most, the violence which a loving son ought to exercise toward a sick mother, that he may induce her to observe the orders of the doctor, which are indispensable to her recovery."

Unfortunately, the sick mother did not take the admonitions of her loving sons in good grace. The pill was neither small nor sugar-coated, and she has shown remarkable ability to resist any efforts to force it down her throat. The method of the church has been by denunciation, the use of the authority to excommunicate, and the placing of prohibited books on the Index. The year 1907 was the most notable period of explicit papal attacks on Modernism. In April of that year Pius, in his discourse to the recently created cardinals, asked for their cooperation in correcting what he called the "intellectual aberrations of rebels." He characterized their attempt to modernize Catholicism as a "preaching of a charity without faith which, while extremely tender to the unbeliever, is opening the path to eternal ruin for all." On May 6 Pius wrote to the Catholic Institute of Paris, recommending the restoration of sacred studies and of scholastic philosophy. A month later the decree *Lamentabili* appeared, in which sixty-five distinct Modernist propositions were condemned, and this was followed in August by an injunction giving explicit means to remedy the condition. He demanded the suspension of all teachers who did not bow to the decree.

On September 6 came the greatest condemnation of Modernism ever made by Pope Pius—the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* on the Doctrines of the Modernists. It has been declared to be the longest and most argumentative papal utterance extant. In the encyclical there is an elaborate analysis of Modernist teach-

ing, and the rebels are branded as agnostics, as believers in vital immanence, mere symbolism and evolutionism. After condemning their critical and historical method, the encyclical concluded: "It may seem to some that we have dealt at too great length on this exposition of the doctrines of Modernism. But it was necessary that we should do so—and we have had to give to this exposition a somewhat didactic form, and not to shrink from employing certain unwonted terms which the Modernists have brought into use. And now with our eyes fixed upon the whole system, no one should be surprised that we should define it to be the synthesis of all heresies. If anyone had attempted to collect all the errors that have ever been broached against the faith, he could not have succeeded in doing so better than the Modernists have done. Their system means destruction, not only of the Catholic religion alone, but of all religion."

No explicit attacks on the movement were made in 1908 or 1909. In May, 1910, the condemnations of previous books were renewed, and on September 1 Pius again inveighed against Modernist obstinacy and specious cunning, and gave practical measures—in the decree opening with the words *Sacrorum Antistitum* —for stamping out Modernism in the schools. He sent out a formula which reprobated the principles of Modernist tenets, and he required that all the clergy, especially professors in seminaries, swear according to this formula. During the year 1911 there was little public condemnation. The most important document of that year saw the light in March, when the Pope sent out copies of a new oath against Modernism, to which all the clergy were to subscribe before January 1, 1912. It was long and explicit, and defined Modernism in nine different ways in order to leave no loophole for escape.

Since 1912 there has been little if any Modernist expression in the Roman Catholic Church. The vigorous onslaught of Pius X resulted in its complete rout. A Jesuit, J. M. Bampton, in a series of lectures on Modernism published in 1913, considered this fruit of Pius's labor as his greatest glory: "Pius X will go down to history distinguished among the illustrious line of Roman pontiffs for his vigilance in watching over the deposit of the faith

intrusted to his keeping, and for his courage, his superb courage, in defending it; and nowhere have these qualities been more conspicuously displayed than in his condemnation of Modernism." To outsiders, who are convinced that the forces of progress are inevitably opposed to such recalcitrancy, such a eulogium seems inept.

Catholicism is in dire need of reform. What Protestants have insisted on for three hundred years, the Modernists have admitted. They declared openly that Rome and the papal court were corrupt to the core. The Modernists realized that spiritual experiences always need restatement in terms of the present, and consequently they insisted that there could never be an absolute statement. They denied that they were dogmatists, but affirmed themselves to be makers of a theology. As Father Tyrrell aptly wrote in reply to the attack of Cardinal Mercier of Belgium: "I am tired of rummaging patiently for the Holy Grail among the dustheaps of Scholasticism." The Modernists admitted as well that Rome was in need of moral renovation, that the papacy was an overgrown bureaucracy, that papal claims were pushed to the utmost extreme often for selfish ends, and that officialism had made the benediction of the church nothing but the movement of a dead hand. In Fogazarro's novel, the Saint informs his friend by a parable of the true attitude to take toward a corrupt church. In the garden in which they were conversing, he picked up a fallen fruit which proves to be almost entirely rotten. In comparing it to the church, he admonishes his friend that even though the fruit is so bad as to be useless, there is, however, the seed in the center from which fruitful trees will spring. But the analogy is not altogether felicitous, even to a Modernist, as the fruit of a future tree will hardly furnish at present "human nature's daily food."

The Modernists realized that spiritual values and methods were eternal. It is for this reason that they claimed their movement to be for the salvation of the church. But at present there seems little hope that this work can be carried on within their denomination. Officialism realizes that it is her deathknell if such claims be allowed for a moment. As Tyrrell said, "If Rome should lose her little finger, she would bleed to death," by Rome meaning centralization and the papacy, not Catholicism. Natur-

ally every effort has been made to stamp out what might mean the death of the papacy. Thus far, in their work of reform, the Modernists have shown no desire to hold their hand, and their professed purpose of a gradual change in the church, instead of a reformation outside as has been the professed aim of Protestants, does not bid fair to be realized. Yet a distinguished Catholic, Mgr. Scalabrini, Bishop of Piacenza for thirty years, warned the Pope when he condemned Loisy that twenty years would not have passed before his ideas would become the ideas of all honest and intelligent persons.

The Modernists have not shown any more sympathy with Protestantism than with their own church. Loisy in his attempt to refute Harnack's interpretation of Christianity, and Tyrrell in his discussion of the Christ of Protestantism, both declared that liberal Protestantism was making Christianity a system of religious ethics and not a religion. They claimed that Christ, if he should reappear to-day, would be at home at a high mass, but quite at sea in a prayer meeting, that Catholicism with its ritual and saint worship was not out of accord with Jesus's ideas and what they term his "idea." In other words, they had sublime faith in the Catholic instinct. If they err in giving undue importance to one type of Protestantism, their faith in Catholicism has not been appreciated. The very failure of their efforts to express the "idea" of the Roman Catholic Church would seem to call in question the correctness of their diagnosis. The Roman Church has come out of this intestinal crisis momentarily purged of the healing draught which was to have been its aperient. But Modernism has not ceased to be; it must recur when men devoted to their church endeavor to bring that great living organism to a condition of more worthful accomplishment.

LUTHER'S TREATISE "ON CHRISTIAN FREEDOM"

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I. NOT the least of the innumerable indirect evils of the world war was the inability of Protestantism to take proper notice of the four hundredth anniversary of the beginnings of the Reformation. It was on October 31, 1517, that Luther posted his famous ninety-five theses against the sale of Indulgences, which event is usually hailed as the decisive act in the break with the Roman Church. The real revolt did not come, however, for more than three years. The theses, for all their importance, were but a call to reform the church from within; the revolution was begun by the burning of the papal bull, December 10, 1520, and the defiance of the powers of Church and State at the Diet of Worms, April 17 and 18, 1521. In burning the Pope's bull, together with all the Roman law books he could find, Luther publicly proclaimed to the German people their freedom from all connection, civil or religious, with Rome. At the Diet, with the fate of Huss as a warning, he uttered the words that determined his career as a reformer and ushered in the new era of Protestantism. Carlyle says that "this may be considered as the greatest scene in modern European history." It would not be improper, then, to fix on the months we are now passing through as the real anniversary of the Reformation.

The popular fancy seizes upon the dramatic incidents of history. Accordingly, the three events above referred to are familiar to many who know little else in the life of Luther (unless it be his hurling the ink bottle at the devil in Wartburg castle!). But these events are not important in themselves alone. They have meaning only as the expression of the silent development of thought that lies back of them. It is for this reason that modern students of Luther are examining with great care the earlier writings of the Reformer. It is this fact that makes of such great importance the discovery of the long-lost volume of notes on the Epistle to the Romans, written during the winter of 1515-16.[1]

[1] An interesting account of the finding of this lost book is given by Professor Cell of Boston University in the METHODIST REVIEW for September, 1911.

Through these works the investigator gets a glimpse of Luther's inner thought life; he can trace therein the development of the distinctive ideas that made the Reformation.

When, in 1517, Luther proposed his theses on Indulgences, he had no thought of a revolt from Rome. Eight or nine years before, under the tutelage of St. Paul and St. Augustine, he had found peace for his tortured soul in the acceptance of salvation through faith. For five years he had, as professor of the Bible in the university, made an intensive study of the Scriptures, and had become increasingly dependent upon them as the authority for the Christian life. He, as did earnest men all over Europe, saw and denounced the corruption of the priesthood, but not yet did he think of the papacy as wrong in principle. Reformer as he was, his protest was aimed at what he thought was the misrepresentation of the church in the conduct of the debased ecclesiastics, and not against her fundamental assumptions. "He denounced Tetzel's teaching as false to the church herself, in full confidence that he would be supported by his ecclesiastical authorities" (Wace). It was only when he discovered that this confidence was ill-founded; when, with vehement hatred, these ecclesiastics set upon him as a heretic, and he realized that their standpoint was at one with that of the highest officials, that he began to see the inevitable logic of his position. Three years of conflict were three years of growth for Luther. In defending his theses against the attacks of his opponents, he was but the more surely convinced of their truth. In the preface to The Babylonish Captivity he ironically acknowledges his indebtedness to the strenuous upholders of the papacy: "Whether I will or not, I am compelled to become more learned every day, since so many great masters vie with each other in urging me on and giving me practice." Thus it was that Luther gradually came to see that the papal theory was fundamentally wrong, and that his cardinal doctrine of justification by faith could never find a home in the priestly system. The reformer became a revolutionist.

The results of these years of controversy may be seen in three pamphlets which Luther published in the fall of 1520. They are, An Address to the German Nobility, The Babylonish Cap-

tivity of the Church, and On Christian Freedom. The first is an exhortation to the princes of Germany to withstand the despotic interference of the papacy in the affairs of the temporal realm. The second arraigns the papacy as the veritable Anti-Christ and sweeps away, as of human origin, all the sacraments of the church but two, Baptism and the Eucharist (with a possible acceptance of penance as a third). The third treatise, the one under discussion in this paper, steers clear of vexatious problems of Church and State, and deals with the question of the individual Christian and his duties. Most of Luther's writings are necessarily of a controversial nature, and, in accordance with the custom of the times, are often couched in terms that seem to us coarse and brutal; but this treatise is practically free from such strains. The pamphlets concerning Church and State are in the form of protests, so are negative and destructive. In this treatise he begins with positive propositions and is constructive throughout. It is testimony to the greatness of the man that he was not content with tearing down the pretensions of ecclesiasticism, but that he attempted to supply something to take the place of what he demolished. The other pamphlets would, of course, be the more immediately popular, but On Christian Freedom contains far more that is of universal value. Here we have Luther at his best. As Schaff says, "He keeps free from all polemics and writes in the best spirit of that practical mysticism that connected him with Staupitz and Tauler."

II. The preface is in the form of a letter to the Pope, Leo X, Luther intimates that he has undertaken the work in fulfillment of a promise made to Miltitz, the Pope's agent in consultation with him over the disputed questions, that he would "at least show respect to your person and vindicate in a humble letter both your innocence and my own." He begins in a conciliatory way, protesting that he has never thought any ill of the Pope as an individual. His protest has been against the system, and not against the occupant of the papal chair. He professes his belief that Leo is innocent of the terrible prostitution of holy things. He is a lamb in the midst of wolves; he is a prisoner, and Luther is trying to loose him from his prison,

by his efforts at reformation. He offers as a precedent for his temerity in thus addressing the Most Holy Father the book, *De Consideratione,* which Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to Pope Eugenius, "a book which ought to be known by heart by every pontiff." Finally he offers his own little book published under the Pope's name, which he desires shall be "a good omen of the establishment of peace and good hope. It is a small matter if you look to its exterior, but, unless I mistake, it is a summary of the Christian life put together in small compass."

Luther begins his treatise with two propositions: *"A Christian man is the most free lord of all and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all and subject to every one."* This seeming paradox is explained by Paul's words, "Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all." Man has two natures, the bodily and the spiritual, and it is in the latter realm that he is free. With the spirit free, external conditions mean little. One thing alone is necessary—the Word of God, which is his Gospel revealed in Jesus Christ. By faith alone are men saved: a reliance upon works is misplaced. The two Testaments of the Bible are respectively the precepts and the promises of God. The precepts lead to despair of self, in which condition the promises hold before one the hope of the gospel. The virtues of faith are three: (1) thereby the Christian is able to partake of the promises and to fulfill the precepts; (2) by faith (that is, believing His word) the Christian honors God; (3) the soul is united with Christ in a mysterious but real sense somewhat analogous to the spiritual relation of husband and wife in human marriage. As Christ is both King and Priest, he confers kingship and priesthood upon all who are united with him. As King, "every Christian is by faith so exalted above all things that, in spiritual power, he is completely lord of all things, so that nothing whatever can do him any hurt; yea, all things are subject to him, and are compelled to be subservient to his salvation." This kingship, however, gives no occasion for the claim of certain ecclesiastics for power "to possess and rule all things." The Christian is also priest: "by that priesthood we are worthy to appear before God, to pray for others, and to teach one another

mutually the things which are of God." The distinction of *priest* and *layman* is one merely of office and not of order. All are not fitted to teach or minister, so it is expedient to set aside certain ones for that purpose, but their office denotes obligation more than prerogative. The object of preaching is to promote personal faith in Christ.

But the question may be raised, "If faith does everything, and by itself suffices for justification, why then are good works commanded? Are we then to take our ease and do no works, content with faith?" "Not so, impious man, I reply." It is at this point that the second proposition is applicable: *"The Christian is servant of all and subject to all."* He must do the works necessary for the subjugation of the body, such as fasting, watching, prayer. The Christian should labor, just as Adam and Eve in their primal innocence labored in the garden. But no mistake should be made as to the relation of works and justification. The Christian, consecrated by faith, performs the good works, but he is not consecrated by them. "Good works do not make a good man, but a good man does good works. The fruit does not bear the tree, nor does the tree grow on the fruit; but, on the contrary, the trees bear the fruit, and the fruit grows on the tree." There is no rejection of good works; rather is emphasis laid upon them: the rejection is of the false theory that works can bring justification.

The idea of good works, however, is not to be confined to mere bodily discipline; its grandest expression is in service to one's neighbors. The Christian must work for all, not with the idea of securing salvation thereby, but because thus faith works by love. He will consider that, as God of his free mercy hath given him "the riches of justification and salvation in Christ," he will for him do all that he knows will be pleasing to him. "I will therefore give myself as a sort of Christ to my neighbor, as Christ has given himself to me; and I will do nothing in this life except what I see will be needful, advantageous, and wholesome for my neighbors, since by faith I abound in all good things in Christ."

The Christian, as he uses the liberty that is his by faith, must always have respect for the weaker brethren. Many things he

will do, not because he feels they are needful for himself, but because if he do them not he may offend the conscience of some. This principle will hold true even of the grievous burdens imposed by Pope or bishop, so long as they are not contrary to the will of God. There will always be those who will take one extreme or the other; either the liberty of faith will be construed to mean license, or the law of works will lead to rigid ceremonialism. From both extremes the Christian must keep free, taking the middle course. There is need for ceremonies and works for the protection of the inexperienced, but their danger is apparent if they are used for any other purpose than as scaffolding to assist in the actual building of Christian character.

III. This treatise has an important bearing on the question, raised anew in recent years by Catholic historians, of the relation between Luther's doctrinal ideas and his revolt from Rome. They maintain that he was a rebellious monk, becoming such because of a degenerate nature chafing at the vows of celibacy, and that the peculiar doctrines of the Reformation were thought out to give reason for his rebellion. Lust, then, rather than religion, was the dynamic that set in motion the currents of modern Protestant civilization! The most noteworthy of the recent exponents of this theory is Denifle in his *Luther und Luthertum* (1904). An accepted Catholic authority (the Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. IX., p. 448) states that the inspiration for this book was Luther's treatise on the monastic vows, written while he was at the Wartburg in 1521-22; and the same authority gives Denifle credit for having "cast the shadow of doubt on the whole fabric of Reformation history."

It is strange indeed that one should base an appreciation of Luther and his work on the treatise of Wartburg (important enough in a way, but really a mere incident in the progress of the Reformation), when he has at his hand writings of significant theological import produced before there was a hint of disagreement over the monastic vows. Who could ask for a more complete statement of the Reformation teaching than the work now under discussion? The basic character of faith, the kingship and priesthood of all believers, the need of self-discipline, the duty of loving

service—all this, which is the essence of Protestantism to-day, was explicitly set forth before there was any formal break from Rome. Indeed, as is evidenced by his preface, Luther still has some faint hope that a direct appeal to the Pope may prove the basis for a reconciliation and for the acceptance of his program of reform by the church. It is very true that he was already aware of the bull issued against him by the Pope, and his correspondence shows that he was even then considering the revolt. But the maturity of thought, the depth of conviction, the breadth of grasp, and the mastery of detail here found make impossible the hypothesis that it was hastily concocted as an afterthought to justify an act which sprang from other motives.

If such conclusion is suggested by the contents of this treatise, it is made compelling by a study of the writings yet earlier. What we have here differs from the first works only as the full corn in the ear differs from the blade; here has come to its fruitage what was at first only the blossom of promise. There is a straight line of development from that day in the monastery at Erfurt when there burst on the despairing monk the significance of Paul's words, "The just shall live by faith." When the agony of the sense of guilt was lifted from his soul, there began the growth that ended with the revolt known to the world. The process of growth can be traced with certainty through his lecture notes on Paul's Epistles and his correspondence. The Luther of "On Christian Freedom" is the Luther of the lecture notes and the Theses come to maturity. As Wace declares, there is embodied in this treatise "the essence of the gospel he preached" and this "gospel" he makes synonymous with "the substance of what he had learned from the temptations, the prayers, the meditations of his life as a monk." Luther's understanding of the gospel had its inception in his own experience. As from the study of Paul he found peace for his own soul, he discovered there the source of peace for all men. He broke with Rome, not because of a rebellious spirit, but because Rome would not tolerate the gospel he believed and preached.

IV. Any question as to the precise bearing of this treatise on the course of the Reformation must be answered more by

inference than by direct evidence. We know that Luther's pamphlets, scattered over Germany by the thousands, had an incalculable influence, but it would be difficult to state the influence of any certain one. This treatise, too, with its quiet appeal to the individual conscience, followed shortly upon the fiery pamphlets on State and Church with their external appeal; and for this reason did not obtain as immediate recognition as did they. But as the interest of the former works was seen to depend upon the accidents of external events, it became increasingly evident that the specifically religious message was of the more permanent significance. The strength of the Reformation was neither in its protest against Roman tyranny, nor yet in its polemics about the sacraments, but in its answer to the deep questions of the individual Christian life. As the treatise we are studying gives concise expression to the chief elements of that answer, it will be well to consider the relation of those ideas to the historic facts of the Reformation.

1. In the first place, there is supplied the indispensable basis for a successful repudiation of Rome's claims. The power of the Pope rested, in the last analysis, on his supposed possession of the keys of eternal life. "Outside the church there is no salvation," said Cyprian in the third century, and the developments of the Middle Ages had made the church to reside in the successor of Peter. The salvation of every man—from prince to peasant—was dependent upon his relation to the church. The validity of the sacraments, the worth of the Scriptures, the very virtues of Christ's atonement were secured by the authority of the Pope, mediated to the people through the hierarchy. So long as this conception was unquestioningly held, the Pope's power was absolute. Men might denounce him, they might chafe at his tyranny, yet they dared not oppose him who held the issues of their eternal well-being in his hand. Unless this conception were overthrown, such attacks on Rome as we find in Luther's earlier treatises of 1520 could have but little effect. Multitudes had come to a practical distrust of the Pope, and bore his impositions in sullen silence or dead indifference; but the old dread of the priest still lingered in the heart and held in check any open revolt.

What mere denunciation of the hierarchy could not do was done by Luther's doctrine of justification by faith. Here was a new idea whose expulsive power was able to cast out the superstition inherited from the centuries. Cyprian's maxim was not denied, but the mediæval conception of the church as the empirical organization gave way to the modern—and ancient—conception of is as the "number of the elect." Man's salvation depends, not upon the mediation of the priest, but upon the immediate work of Jesus Christ. We know God's will, not by consulting the village priest, but by studying the Scriptures. Through union with Christ, weak man becomes king, subject to none; becomes priest, with all the essential prerogatives of the highest official in the church. There needs no comment to show how fatal this doctrine is to any kind of sacerdotalism. When the printing presses sent forth this great statement of his doctrine into every hamlet of Germany, Luther's battle was already won. The minds of men were now free, and the revolt, long desired but never dared, became an assured fact.

2. We have seen that Luther provides the basis for a successful revolt from the established order. On the other hand, however, he emphatically warns against a swing to the opposite extreme. In spite of the vehemence of his battle against the papacy, his was really a conservative spirit. Friends wonder and foes exult over what they consider his treachery when he urges the princes to crush the peasantry in their hopeless struggle for freedom. The reason is to be found in his fear of lawlessness. Though a revolutionist, he was not an anarchist. No one spoke more bitterly against the evils of the old order; but in like manner, no one saw more clearly the need of linking the new order closely to the old. When Munzer and Carlstadt sought to abolish everything and begin anew, Luther withstood them, for he knew the end of such attempts. However we may criticise the harshness of his pamphlets against the peasants, we must be grateful that he held firmly for law against chaos.

This regard for established usage is seen in our treatise in the exhortation to respect the consciences of the weaker brethren, and in his approval of ceremony and forms as necessary scaffolding to build the Christian character. One of the most

persistent criticisms of the doctrine of justification by faith alone is the charge that it tends to laxity of conduct. It is very natural that men suddenly freed from galling bondage to legalism should swing to the other extreme of Antinomianism; but the blame for it rests, not upon the means of release, but upon the power that enslaved. Luther makes very plain on this point. He urges the value of fasting, watching, and prayer as means of personal righteousness. He places an emphasis, never known to the papal church, upon the Christian's duty of service. How beautiful is the thought that a Christian is to be "a sort of Christ" to his neighbor! So far is the duty of good works from being made void through faith that, with Paul, he can say that thereby is the law established. The whole question turns on the relation of good works to justification. The good Catholic seeks to earn salvation in exchange for his good works; the true follower of Luther does good works because his life has been quickened by faith in God through Jesus Christ.

V. Martin Luther is a modern man. He stands with his face to the future. We are mindful of many traits and ideas that are unlovely or mistaken. We would not seek to restore Protestantism to a strict adherence to the whole of his order. But with all admissions, we still maintain he is a modern man. The little work under discussion shows admirably his modern trend. Compare it with any of the mediaeval writings—with the writings of Roman Catholics of to-day, if you please—and the difference is at once apparent. In them are grains or nuggets of pure gold, but hidden by a mass of dross—the dead sameness, the labored argument, the constant appeal to precedent and authority. In this the gold shines comparatively free from dross, the style is fresh and interesting, the sentences glow with life, the appeal is to the conscience of the reader. Only the student is interested in the best of mediæval literature; this book of Luther's might be published to-day as a devotional tract and find ready entrance into the minds of the most modern of men. We have said that the germ of Luther's mature thought can be found in his earliest writings. With equal accuracy we may say that in his work can be found the anticipation of the highest developments of Protestantism.

THE AWKWARD AMERICAN

Ralph W. Sockman, New York City

An eighteen-months-old son graces our home. I stress that verb, because in the eyes of his fond parents no Grecian statue could be more graceful than that boy as he poises himself for his first steps. There are times, however, when with that peculiar sharpness of vision produced by sudden waking from sound sleep, we see our son face to face and not through a glass darkly. At such moments his father, if not his mother, can detect in the youth a slight awkwardness. His center of gravity is indeterminate. He reels to and fro like those who go down to the sea in ships. Demosthenes, with pebbles in his mouth, practicing along the Attic shore to cure himself of stuttering, never had more difficulty in controlling his voice. The little fellow is really not graceful, but his clumsiness is a sign of his progress. He is awkward because he is ambitious. He is trying to use powers which he feels, but which he has not yet mastered.

Ere long he will have become so adept in the art of walking that instead of having to think in order to walk he will find himself walking in order to think. No doubt he will also have become so skilled in the art of speech that, like many adults, instead of having to think in order to talk, he will begin speaking and think afterward. In a year or two he will enter into a "state of grace," so far as the simple movements of walking and talking are concerned. There looms ahead of him, however, another period of more self-conscious awkwardness. It is the age of adolescence, beginning with most of us at about twelve years. It is that period when the boy becomes so ungainly that his hair seems ashamed to own him and seeks to straggle off in every conceivable direction. It is that period when the lad's clothes fit so forlornly that his hands and feet try to run away from them and do succeed in leaving the garments about half way to their destination. We smile when a Booth Tarkington depicts some of the lingering oddities of this awkward age, but it was no laughing

matter when our voices were changing too fast and our clothes were not changing fast enough.

What causes the awkwardness of the early teens? Speaking simply and not psychologically, may we not say it is the partially paralyzing discovery of new powers to be used and new relationships to be adjusted? The veil of manhood's holy of holies is being rapidly drawn aside and the young high priest of human life is being ushered in to take charge of the ritual of living. The elements are present, the spiritual exaltation is in him, but time and practice are required for him to make his living a satisfying sacrament. In this period of gradual adjustment the youth is awkward.

Do bodies politic pass through a development similar to that of bodies human? Is it ever really scientific to personalize a nation? Granted that the analogy may easily be carried to the point of error, is it merely poetic license to speak of a nation as in the "vigor of her youth," or in the "maturity of her prime"? When our country is attacked, as in time of war, we picture her as a woman assaulted, we endue her with nerves and blood, we kindle our emotions of chivalry and loyalty by thinking of her as a mother. When our country attacks us—and men often so characterize the function of taxation—we dehumanize the body politic into "the government" or "the administration," and while the qualifying adjectives may vary with the temper or the politics of the speaker, the pronoun is "it." Does not the former mood more accurately sense the true nature of our nation? If our wartime talk about the "soul of America" was not mere emotional twaddle and now to be scrapped as verbal junk, then America still has a soul, and we have a right to ascribe to her certain attributes of personality. Would that our countrymen might continue in time of peace to think of our body politic as having the same sensibilities as when a mailed fist was at her throat.

I. In what stage of her development is this personalized America? The cynicism, which is so rife to-day and which has stabbed in the back so many enthusiastic enterprises of early post-war days, will say that the United States is in her senility. In the spirit of Anatole France when he said, "Europe is dying,"

many say that our country is decadent, and they see the marks of such decadence in the waning idealism, the childish suspicion of other countries, the feverish selfishness of all classes. These critics are not all premillennialists, either. There is another group, some of them theoretical and some deadly practical, who say America is in her dotage, but can still be saved by a sort of glandular rejuvenation. The little organs which can secrete the vital fluid are taken from the Russian bear and are called "soviets." These opinions, perhaps, may be as capable of proof as any other, for you cannot prove the age of a nation. Probably that is one reason a country is always spoken of in the feminine gender. We take issue with such pessimistic diagnoses, however. And for the very reason that so many Americans do take issue with such pessimism, America is not senile. A body politic is as old as its members vote it to be. The vast majority of our people believe the United States has not yet reached her prime. Such hopefulness is the elixir which keeps the nation's arteries soft.

Yet, while we will not admit America's dotage, we are no longer the baby in the family of nations. We may have been the youngest long enough to acquire some of the characteristics of a spoiled child, but now there are younger sisters, like Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. We must begin to take some responsibility in caring for the less mature members of the family. America is neither in the disintegrating period of senility nor in the care-free playtime of childhood. She is in her moral and spiritual adolescence, the "awkward age" of her development. Just as to a youth in his teens, there is revealed to America a whole set of new functions to be exercised and of new adjustments to be made. America is discovering elemental powers and conflicts within her. What mean these new class-conscious groups of employers and employees? How shall she repress the conflicts between the "haves" and the "have-nots"? She is awed by the mystery of her own makeup. These internal elements were not known to her in the simple life of her childhood, for there were no distinctly marked class-conscious elements in the pioneering days. This adolescent America is hesitant in the face of the new international relationships to which she must adjust herself. How far shall

she go in her alliance with other nations? What is her duty toward imploring Armenia, in view of her responsibility to safeguard the health of her own members? Can she trust the young chaperone imported from Versailles to teach her the proper international etiquette? Mystified by the sudden discovery of these functions without and within, America is in the "awkward age" of her adolescence.

II. If this theory is tenable, we Americans have a more immediate need for discipline than for new ideals in our citizenship. The awkward youth might read a whole treatise on Greek dancing, but it would not make him the more graceful. It would probably accentuate his self-consciousness. He must have a floor and be made to dance. The raw recruit might read the Official Drill Regulations from cover to cover the first week after his enlistment, but the rapid passing of all those military ideals through his stream of thought would likely leave the mental waters the more muddy and prolong the rookie's stay in the awkward squad to be the object of pity and even of profanity. He must have a drill ground and be put through the exercises.

There are periods in national and racial progress when the case is quite the reverse. At times the practice of a community or a state seems to catch up with its ideals. When the Sophists dominated the education of Greece, skill in the handling of ideas was more emphasized than the advancing of new ideals. The citizens became adept in fencing with their facts, but their stock of ideals was far too scanty. It required the mental and spiritual pioneering of Socrates and his pupils to enlarge the Greek vision. The sophisticated sons of Hellas needed the awkwardness which comes when our ideals outstrip our practice. Mediæval Europe, in the heyday of scholasticism, became adept in defining and applying her mental conceptions. There was an intellectual gracefulness about the Europe of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus. The Schoolmen were clever in harmonizing their faith and practice. It was a childish grace, for their world of facts was small and their horizon of ideals was limited. When the Renaissance pushed back the frontiers of knowledge, Europe floundered in an "awkward age," just as youth stands half-paralyzed on the threshold of man-

hood. Broadly generalized, the age of the Sophists and that of the Schoolmen are illustrations of periods in which discipline catches nearly up with idealism. The need of those times was for enlarging, even overwhelming, vision.

In our generation of Americans, on the other hand, the ancient prediction has been fulfilled: "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." The past five years have witnessed a flood of ideals poured upon us. Our statesmen of both political parties have almost rivaled the pulpit in the spiritual emphasis on governmental duties. Our politicians have echoed the same sentiments in the sounding brass and clanging cymbals of campaign oratory, always of course having the mufflers handy in order not to offend the sensitive ears of certain business and sectional groups. Our magazine writers have been moralizing. Even our ostensibly humorous papers have been intentionally serious in editorial articles calling for Christian principles of international and industrial settlement. If Mr. Spargo is correct in his recent assertion that the day of preaching is past, then the ancient art of exhortation has gasped its last in a final surge of energy, for the last five years have heard more preaching than any previous period of similar length in America's history.

What has been the result of all these good counsels, these "spiritual challenges"? It would seem that for the time being they have but aggravated our awkwardness. They have made us more conscious of the chasm between our ideals and our practice. Such a consciousness, long continued, leads to demoralization. As Hocking of Harvard puts it: "Our Western world has adhered to standards with which it has never supposed its practice to be in accord; but heaving a resigned sigh over the erring tendencies of human nature, it has offered to these standards that 'of course' variety of homage which is the beginning of mental and moral coma. By labeling these standards 'ideals' it has rendered them innocuous while maintaining the profession of deference: an 'ideal' has been taken as something which everybody is expected to honor and nobody is expected to attain." An ideal kept too long in the realm of the "impossible" perishes. This is the danger

which threatens our Western code of ethics to-day. The ideals of the Nazarene Carpenter are regarded in many quarters as meant only for a distantly future Utopia. There is a hunger for moral realism. Men want standards which they can have the satisfaction of approaching within reaching distance occasionally. The question is whether we shall level the Galilean's ideals down to the plane of common practice or lift our practice up toward the Christian code of morals.

Our moral awkwardness is an ailment to be treated not by allopathic doses of idealism, but by brisk and disciplined exercise.

III. It is a kind Providence which holds back our adolescent powers until after we have mastered the simple fundamentals of human action. There is a nicety of timeliness about our physical growth.

In man's spiritual development, however, there is no natural preservative of timeliness. One may come to the complex moral situations of manhood without having mastered the simple ethical movements of childhood. He is as sorry a figure in the moral struggle as is the soldier involved in the intricacies of the front line who has never become adept in the manual of arms. Is this not the position of much of our citizenry to-day? Not only America, but all progressive states are now trying to advance the frontiers of Christian ethics into the hitherto uncharted regions of industry and internationalism. In our front-line positions we are confused by a whole network of paths. What is duty in this complication of open shops, collective bargaining, co-operative ownership, profit sharing, Plumb plans, et cetera? What is the ethical attitude toward immigration, protective tariffs, the League of Nations? It is complicated front-line ethics we are involved in now. To say that we have made little progress during the past two years is to put it kindly. What is the chief cause of hindrance? Some say weakness or selfishness of leadership, but is it not that too many of our citizens lack sufficient drilling in the simple fundamentals of morality?

One of our most careful university professors tells of an experiment to test the pupils of a certain private school in the matter of honesty. The faculty gave to each child the sum of

thirty-five cents and told him to buy an article the standard price of which had previously been found to be twenty-five cents. The pupils were instructed to bring back the change if there was any. Seven out of ten of the children returned saying there was no change. Without generalizing from such an instance, even a sporadic case makes us wonder whether the children of our so-called better American families are being so drilled that honesty would be a matter of principle rather than of policy. If individuals do not become instinctively honest, what hope have we of working out honest agreements between whole classes?

Last summer a metropolitan pastor wrote to several thoughtful laymen asking them to suggest some vital subjects for pulpit treatment. Modern ministers have a habit of consulting the prophets in their pews, as well as those in the earlier graveyards of Palestine. Amos and Hosea might have some valuable suggestions for the present time, but since they were not popular with their own congregations, why rely on them too implicitly now? Some of the laymen evidently thought that "pulpit treatment" meant embalming and consequently suggested topics of which the life has long since fled. But one subject which seemed to concern a number of business men was the sanctity of contracts. These men were discovering the tendency to cancel contracts which has swept like an epidemic through our mercantile realm. In the words of the Boston Boot and Shoe Club's president: " 'Cancelitis' has been spreading to every corner of the world," and he adds, "Our whole commercial structure rests upon the sanctity of contracts and they in turn upon solemn moral and religious obligations." Despite all our legal appliances, we cannot for long securely tie business agreements with slippery men. If individuals are not disciplined to stand by their pledged words, how do we expect treaties between nations to be kept inviolate?

When Guglielmo Ferrero, the eminent Italian historian, visited America some twelve years ago, he confessed that he had expected to find this country a sink of iniquity. His prejudice had been formed from the lurid descriptions of depravity and extravagance published in our own press. He acknowledged his disillusionment and delight in seeing here so much that is good. He was

led to conclude that the reason we paint our sins in such vivid colors is because the Puritan conscience in America is still alert. He then proceeded to sound a note of warning. The seriousness and simplicity of the New England founders, he said, was preserved without effort so long as men were satisfied with a modest, hard-earned competency, but now that wealth and luxury have increased, and we have been brought into closer contact with the old world, the temptation is to borrow from Europe those aspects of its civilization which are most ancient and artistic, even if less pure morally.

If, as a result of the Pilgrim Tercentenary, there were to be inaugurated a nation-wide drilling of our citizenry in the fundamental individual Puritan virtues, we should be able to make more rapid progress in the complex front-line ethics of industry and internationalism.

IV. The very commonplaceness of such advice is the reason for giving it. Setting-up exercises and squad drill are such prosaic work that the soldier wishes to cut them short and to get to the interesting job at the front. In moral reform circles there is the same impatience with individual discipline. We are all eager to tackle the spectacular theories and experiments at the frontiers. We want to be giving our thought to specific plans for profit sharing or international leagues. To emphasize personal discipline seems either hopelessly out-of-date preaching or an intentionally reactionary design to draw men's efforts away from concrete proposals. Our advanced periodicals omit such counsel as too obvious. Our numerous civic and social reform agencies do not stress it because it is a work which requires none of their organizations to prosecute. These simple setting-up exercises in personal morality are as unexciting as the morning drills in our boudoir gymnasiums, if such be possible. For that reason they are as frequently neglected.

Like those dumb-bell performances, they can be practiced on the local drill grounds. The local drill grounds of moral character in America have been chiefly the home and the school. The homes of our busy and prosperous Americans show a tendency toward that condition depicted by Walter Scott in his Waverly.

The manor house in which the hero was reared was rich in all that could awaken a child's imagination. It made him an epicure in reading. But the desultory and undisciplined training left him flabby of will. The result was that at the later moral crises of his life he lacked decision. He became morally awkward. Our homes must not deteriorate into mere libraries or art museums. Guidance in expression must keep pace with opportunities of impression. The school must also be kept a drill ground and not merely a lecture hall. Elementary education recognizes this. The principle of the lower grades is to learn by doing. But does this disciplined self-expression continue into our colleges? A critic of a certain great English university said that he saw two defects among the students graduating. One was the not having any opinions, which they called "moderation." The other was having too many opinions, which they termed the "balanced mind." These are but two phases of intellectual awkwardness. We have American university graduates who cannot move out effectively and gracefully into great moral enterprises because they cannot martial their mental forces. Hearing too much while doing too little is demoralizing. Our colleges must be drill grounds of character.

The neglect of these individual exercises and the local training grounds is the weakness of many advanced ethical programs to-day. Our socialistic proposals, for example, have this defect. Listen to one of the multitudinous voices, that of H. G. Wells: "What is the good of orienting one's devotion to a firm, or to class solidarity, or Poland or Albania, or King George, or King Albert, or any such immediate object of self-abandonment? We need a standard so universal that the platelayer may say to the barrister or the duchess, or the Anzac soldier to Sinn Feiner or the Chinaman, 'What are we two doing for it?' " Beautiful idealism! But place the object of loyalty too far away and the ordinary person puts his hands in his own pocket. He becomes an individualist. While lesser loyalties should not interfere with ultimate ideals, individual exercises on the local drill grounds will fit the morally awkward American to advance the frontiers of social ethics.

AMERICANIZATION AT THE CROSSROADS OF THE PACIFIC

HENRY BUTLER SCHWARTZ, HONOLULU, T. H.

THE Hawaiian Islands recently celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the coming of the missionaries and the introduction of modern civilization. The period of missionary dominance in the islands may be said to have lasted until 1865, when the American Board deemed the people Christianized and ceased its work. The century divides itself, therefore, into two nearly equal periods, forty-five years of evangelization and fifty-five years of commercialization. The results are startling. The native element of the population has shrunk to 14.8 per cent., and of this more than half is of mixed blood. The pure Hawaiian population now numbers only 22,600, or but 8.6 per cent. of the whole, and the death rate among the pure Hawaiians exceeds the birth rate something like thirteen to the thousand.

At the same time the Asiatic population has grown from nothing at all to 160,000, or nearly 61 per cent. of the population. From being a nominally Christian country, the islands have become predominately Buddhist. Shrines and temples are as numerous as Christian churches, and Japanese language schools outnumber the public schools conducted by the Territorial Government.

How this came about is ancient history, but as ancient history must be taught anew to each generation, a review of the process may be interesting. But before this can be understood, a hasty survey of the industrial system of the islands will be necessary.

Two words sum up the occupations of the Hawaiian Islands—sugar and pineapples. The growing and canning of pineapples has come in the last years to represent a large acreage and a great investment of capital; the output for 1920 was over six million cases; but the industry is not over twenty years old, and for our present purpose Hawaiian agriculture is spelled with five letters, s-u-g-a-r. Nearly one-fifth of the entire population of the islands

is carried on the pay rolls of the great sugar corporations, while an equally large number of people are supported indirectly by the same industry.

All that science can do for sugar-making has apparently been done on the plantations of Hawaii. There must always be, however, certain operations in sugar production that no application of science can make anything but hard manual labor under a tropical sun. At the beginning of the sugar industry in Hawaii, white labor for this work was out of the question. There were but few white men in the islands, and no inducement that could have been offered would have brought them from the Eastern States across the Central and Western States to these islands. The Hawaiian was on the ground but with all the good things—and they are many—that can be said of the Hawaiian, his best friends have never called him industrious. He was much too near to nature, and to a kindly tropical nature at that, to feel any urge from higher wants that was strong enough to impel him to submit to the long hours and to the hard work which must regularly be done if sugar was to be successfully grown.

The first step in the direction of assisted immigration was taken in 1852, when 180 Chinese coolies were brought to the islands on a five-year contract at $3 a month in addition to their passage, food, clothing, and medical attention. This was the beginning of Chinese immigration, which was continued until some 21,000 laborers were brought into the territory. About the time of the first Chinese immigration, efforts were made to bring Polynesians from many of the Pacific islands under a kind of a contract system. In 1884, after long correspondence, consent was obtained for bringing Japanese to these islands. Like the Chinese, they came under a definite contract for a fixed term, and were liable to arrest if they abandoned work upon the plantations. Most of them came from western Japan, principally form Hiroshima and Yamaguchi prefectures, but toward the close of the immigration period many came from Okinawa.

The importation of Japanese labor was by far the best arrangement which had yet been tried. The Japanese were industrious, quick to learn, frugal, and law abiding, but as plantation

laborers they had one fault—they were incurably determined to better their condition, and as soon as their contracts were completed, many of them would leave the plantations for easier and more profitable employment. Worst of all, they soon discovered that the real El Dorado was not Hawaii but California, and into that land of gold they poured by the thousand, as soon as their contracts were completed, thus creating a situation which has not yet been satisfactorily adjusted.

A much more satisfactory experiment was the attempt to secure Portuguese laborers from Madeira and the Azores, which was begun in 1878. In all some 13,000 Portuguese have been imported. Experiments were also made with immigration from the countries of Northern Europe. Norwegians, Germans, and Russians were tried, but unsuccessfully in every case.

With annexation to the United States, the immigration laws of that country came into effect and immigration from the Orient, except from the Philippines, ceased. It cannot be said that Filipino immigration is wholly successful. The Filipino is a full cousin to the Hawaiian in most of his characteristics, whatever may be his blood relation. He is indolent, unreliable, has little physical stamina, and, free to go to the mainland of the United States, as other Orientals are not, the more ambitious of them push on to the States as soon as they have earned enough money to do so.

These are the elements which have been thrown into the Hawaiian "melting pot." The accompanying table from the Report of the Territorial Board of Health for 1919 gives their relative proportions:

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII JUNE 30, 1919

NATIONALITY	Total	Percentage of Total
Asiatics	150,000	60.6
Japanese	110,000	41.7
Chinese	22,800	8.6
Korean	5,100	1.9
Filipino	22,000	8.4
Polynesians	39,260	14.8
Hawaiians	22,600	8.8
Caucasian-Hawaiians	10,760	4.0
Asiatic-Hawaiians	5,900	2.2

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF HAWAII JUNE 30, 1919 (CONTINUED)

NATIONALITY	Total	Percentage of Total
Latins	32,800	12.4
Portuguese	25,000	9.5
Spanish	2,400	.9
Porto Rican	5,400	2.0
Americans, British, Germans, Russians, etc.	31,000	11.8
Other nationalities	706	.4
Total	263,666	100.0

The above are the various elements in the Hawaiian "melting pot." The more important question of the Americanization of these elements is now to be noticed. How far has the fusion of the races proceeded, to what degree have they been assimilated, and what is the prospect for the future?

In the early days, many Europeans married Hawaiians, and the missionaries, cut off as they were from their mainland homes, permanently domiciled in the islands, seemed to look upon such marriages with allowance, if not with satisfaction, since many of their own descendants contracted such unions. Many Hawaiian women of high rank married Caucasian husbands, and in general the women of the race seem to have preferred the prospects offered by such a marriage to one with the easy-going men of their own race. Thus it came to pass that the opportunity for mixed marriages brought about by the development of immigration found little prejudice against them, and American and European men could contract such marriages, in some cases with a decided gain in social prestige, down to the time of the annexation to the United States. As a result of this, an interesting and complicated process of fusion has been going on.

Annexation somewhat checked this process, for it brought with it a decided prejudice against the marriage of Caucasians and Asiatics—an echo of the attitude of California, where race prejudice had been crystallized into a law forbidding such marriages. Too many mixed marriages had already been made in Hawaii for such prejudice to become very strong; it would go much too far, for rigorous application of the principles of eugenics would have found quite as many objections to Caucasian-Hawaiian

marriages as could be urged against Caucasian-Asiatic unions. But great is the power of custom and prejudice which have kept up the former and discouraged the latter. Only 13 American men and 3 American women have married Asiatics, though 223 American men and quite a number of American women have married Hawaiians and part Hawaiians. A considerable number of part Hawaiians who have been married by Caucasian men have had an Asiatic strain, so that there is in the islands a Caucasian-Hawaiian-Asiatic blend which will have a decided force in the resultant race.

The Portuguese immigrants were in many cases already of mixed blood, and they have shown no objection to marrying out of their race. Portuguese women have married very freely with Orientals as well as with Americans and other Caucasians, and it seems probable that the Portuguese will be the fusing element which will bring about a blending of the other races.

The Asiatic element has been introduced by the Chinese. Men of that race have mingled freely with the Hawaiian women, whose type of beauty is attractive to them. The Chinese blood and the Chinese family training seem to add what is lacking to the Hawaiian, and in intellectual ability and in physical and moral stamina the children of these unions are the best elements of the territory.

The most clannish races in matrimonial matters are the Koreans and the Japanese. The Korean woman clings to her peculiar dress and her native language, which isolate her from other races. With the men of her race so greatly predominating in number, she has a wide range in the choice of a husband, and but one case of a Korean woman marrying anything but a Korean has been reported.

Since the Koreans number but 5,000 in all, they are a comparatively negligible element. That, however, cannot be said of the Japanese, who are the largest and most important racial group in the islands. Their clannishness has its roots in history, and cannot be understood without constant reference to the circumstances of their immigration. None of the other immigrant groups had behind them a strong and well-organized government

like that of Japan. Portugal was too weak to follow with any controlling power its emigrating islanders, and China's rulers had too many people on the verge of starvation at home to care what a few thousand of them did across the sea. Not so the Japanese. From birth to death their country's hand was continually upon her subjects. The whereabouts of every one of them was known, and all the reporting and registering required by their native villages were carried on by the very efficient consular service maintained in Honolulu. Extraterritoriality was not asked as a treaty right; it simply existed as a fact, and that long after contracts were ended and many of the Japanese had left the plantations and thronged into other industries in the islands.

As no other race, they have kept up their own institutions. They created and sustained their own vernacular press; four Japanese dailies in Honolulu and other newspapers on each of the large islands have discussed racial interests and have helped to control and concentrate racial opinion. They celebrated their own national holidays and kept alive their own religious festivals. Home ties were kept vital by the organization of societies which brought together the men of the same prefecture and emphasized the fact that their real home was Hiroshima, or Yamaguchi, or Okinawa, and not the island of Hawaii on which they were living.

No fault can be found with this, and indeed, so long as the Japanese in Hawaii were regarded as temporary alien residents of the territory, it was very admirable. But the continuation of the system after Hawaii became an integral part of the United States, and when thousands of Japanese had become permanent residents of Hawaii, has created the "dual citizenship" of which we hear so much, and more than anything else is responsible for the very limited fusion of the Japanese with other races.

If the Japanese in Hawaii regarded himself as a Japanese subject who was only temporarily in Hawaii, what would be more natural or more proper than that instead of marrying some Hawaiian or part Hawaiian woman, as the less highly organized Chinese had done so freely, he should as soon as he was financially able to do so, ask his family at home to select him a wife from

some family in his native village and send her to him in Hawaii, so that when he had made money enough to come home to stay he would have a wife who would suit his family and fit into the social fabric of his native village?

But when the islands were annexed to the United States and the American immigration laws became effective, this importation of prospective wives became impossible. He could not import a woman to become his wife, but if he already had a wife she was free to come in. Then it was that Japanese inventiveness hit upon the idea of the so-called "picture bride." As the presence of both the contracting parties is not necessary at a Japanese marriage, which is a process of registration and not a ceremony; why not have the marriage in Japan and not abroad, so that the woman could pass the immigration office as a *bona fide* wife and not as a *fiancée?*

As a matter of fact, the "picture brides" were as much married as any other brides, for under the Japanese law registration, and registration alone, constitutes a valid marriage, and these "picture" marriages were probably more carefully registered and attested than any others.

The supposed immorality of this proceeding has been made much of in California and the Japanese Government has yielded to the anti-Japanese pressure and refused passports for "picture brides" going to the Pacific coast. But this regulation has not been applied to Hawaii. From 1911 to 1919, 9,841 Japanese subjects entered the territory as "picture brides," or an average of 1,195 per year. The statistics for 1920 show the number to be 869, which is a little below the average, but that is the effect of the cane-workers' strike and not on account of a lessened demand for wives.

It is easy to see that as long as Japanese women, unacquainted with the English language and wholly unfamiliar with American life and American ideals, are freely admitted there will always be unassimilated elements in the territory, and the efforts made toward Americanization by the schools will be counteracted by the influences at the heart of the home.

If this were only practised by the older Japanese, who can-

not expect to become American citizens, it would be serious enough, since the children of these marriages are soon to be American vôters, but the case is worse than that; for many Japanese parents do not like Hawaii-born Japanese girls, educated in the American schools, and are sending to Japan for "picture brides" for their young sons. By this they create an American home which is more than half Japanese, in which the mother tongue will be Japanese and not English, and which will foster on American soil the religion and ideals of Japan.

It would be extremely interesting to watch the result of intermarriage of Japanese with the already much mingled races of Hawaii, but very few such marriages now occur. Japanese women in Hawaii generally wear the national kimono. This habit greatly adds to the picturesqueness of the Honolulu streets but it helps to hinder the association with other races which would lead to marriage. There is also reason to think that Japanese national sentiment opposes the marriage of either men or women outside of the race, and that a woman making such a marriage might find herself ostracized by her own people for doing so.

By such means the Japanese element in Hawaii has been held together better than any other in the territory. It is estimated that ten years hence 28 per cent of the voters of the territory will belong to this group, and that in less than twenty-five years a majority of the electorate will be of Japanese extraction.

From what I have already written, it should be apparent that the assimilation of the Portuguese group is already well advanced and that the Chinese in Hawaii show such strong chemical affinity for other races that absorption of the present representatives of the race is only a matter of years. The Japanese, as the largest and least fusible of the racial groups, present the greatest number of problems.

Before a categorical answer is given to the question of Japanese assimilation, several matters tending to prevent their Americanization should be considered.

The majority of the Japanese who have come to America have been of the peasant class; farm laborers, tenant farmers, and,

in a few cases, the younger sons of small landholders. Admirable as is the character of the Japanese peasant farmer, with his tireless industry, absolute honesty, and unquestioning obedience to authority, nevertheless his meager education, seldom beyond the primary school, has not overcome the thousand years of superstition he has inherited; and the parts of Japan from which the largest number of immigrants have come have been the chief strongholds of Buddhism and the parts of the empire least touched by the modern movement. Consequently, in matters of sanitation, personal modesty, treatment of women, and the management of his home, he has a very long way to go before he reaches the average standard of American life.

He came to the islands with a shipload of his kind, and in most cases went immediately to a plantation where his associations have been almost altogether with Japanese peasants like himself. Thus imitation, which lies behind most social advancement and in the use of which the Japanese are admittedly experts, has had little chance to exert itself among the contract laborers isolated on the sugar plantations of Hawaii. To them, herded together in camps, there has come little need and less opportunity for acquiring more than a mere smattering of the English language, while long hours in the cane fields for both men and women have made home life impossible, even if the bare cabins had invited to it.

The strongest hindrance to Americanization has been the lack of any motive for it. Why should a Japanese take pains to qualify himself for American citizenship when under existing American laws a man born in Japan cannot become an American citizen no matter what his educational or other qualifications? With the anti-Japanese sentiment which has been running so strong in California, constantly filtering into Hawaii, the Japanese in the islands could not help feeling some uncertainty as to the way in which the birthright citizenship of their children might be interpreted, and under these circumstances they chose to play safe. They carefully registered their children's birth in the Japanese consulate and took pains to secure their instruction in the Japanese language that they might not be too seriously

handicapped should they ever be compelled to return to the Land of the Rising Sun.

The Japanese language schools have been the subject of so much discussion for the past two years, and so many indictments have been drawn against them as hindering the Americanization of Japanese children born in the territory, that a careful consideration of them is necessary.

The first of these schools was organized in 1896 by the Rev. T. Okumura, one of the Japanese Christian pastors connected with the Hawaiian Board of Missions. Similar language schools were soon started wherever there were Japanese children. The Buddhists, who about this time were beginning their work among their countrymen in Hawaii, speedily recognized their opportunity, and assisted in the organization of many of these schools and supplied many teachers for others. To-day, some sixty-three of these schools are avowedly Buddhist, and many of the teachers are Buddhist priests. Ten such schools are carried on by Christians, while ninety are nominally independent. Chinese and Koreans have also organized a few schools of the same nature, but the Japanese schools, with 20,000 children in attendance, so outnumber these that their very existence is often forgotten.

The schools are supported by tuition fees paid by the parents of the children, by subscriptions from interested Japanese, and by grants from the plantations on which they are located. The plantations in many cases give rent free the site on which the school stands; in others they have helped with the erection of the school building, and in some cases they pay outright the salaries of the teaching staff. The sugar corporations have contributed to the schools in the same way that they have given to Christian churches, Buddhist temples, Y. M. C. A. work, and recreational activities; that the laborers may be kept better satisfied with plantation conditions. The planters have probably been the more willing to assist in this case because the schools have helped to care for the children during the hours when their parents were at work, and when, without such outside mothering, the children would be running wild.

The system was thoroughly organized and well under way

before any attention was paid to it; but in the sensitiveness to all alien activities created by the war, and as a result of the passion for Americanization which followed its close, the attention of everybody in the territory has been drawn to them.

The matter came up at the recent special session of the Hawaiian Territorial Legislature, when a bill was passed regulating and not abolishing these schools. The new law, which goes into effect July 1, 1921, limits the number of hours any child can attend a language school to six per week. The text books are to be approved by the Department of Education, and no one is allowed to teach in such a school without first passing an examination in American history, institutions, and ideals, and in the English language and receiving a certificate from the department.

The Legislature had hardly adjourned before the Japanese community began to take steps to carry out the requirements of the law. After many conferences it is decided that all the language school teachers of the territory are to be organized into a great teacher-training class, numbering some 500 in all, for instruction in Americanism.

To the members of the class who live in Honolulu, about seventy in number, three lectures a week are to be given on American history, American institutions, and American ideals. These lectures will be published in English and Japanese and sent out to each language school teacher in the territory for his reading and study, and in June an examination will be given on the entire course.

This is, perhaps, one of the most systematic attempts at Americanization on a large scale which has yet been planned, and in all its details it may be said to represent the Japanese themselves, who are certainly making every effort to comply with the provisions of the new law. The regulation in regard to the hours of attendance the Japanese Educational Association have put into effect at once, while they have also voted that henceforth the American flag shall fly over all their schools.

The un-American features of the Japanese language schools are in a fair way to be removed, but the activities of the Buddhist priests along purely religious lines, and the establishment of an

alien religion, cannot be so summarily dealt with, however un-American or anti-American they may be.

As we have already noticed, many of the Japanese in Hawaii come from the strongest centers of Buddhist influence in the empire, and it is a commentary on the condition of Buddhism in Japan in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, that its sects were so slow in following and ministering to their adherents abroad. The great Honganji sect was the first to open preaching places in Hawaii, but these were not officially recognized until 1897, four years after the Jodo sect began its activity here. These two are still the principal sects of the territory, as they are in Japan. Seventy-five thousand of the islanders are said to be adherents of the Honganji, which is presided over by a resident bishop, and has sixty-one temples and preaching places. The main temple, which is in Honolulu, was completed in 1918 at a cost of $100,000. Forty-two of the language schools are controlled by this sect. It is in every way the most progressive and enlightened form of Buddhism; it has been quick to imitate the methods and practices of Christianity. It reports 33 Sunday schools with 4,000 scholars, 40 women's societies, and 30 young men's associations. The Nichiren, Sodo, and Shingon sects have all been established since 1900. The various Buddhist sects report a total of 94 temples.

Under the American Constitution, all this Buddhist activity is perfectly lawful, and there has never been any serious charge of anti-American plotting or any improper activity on the part of the priests or their adherents. But it is another of the forces which hold the Japanese group together and create a barrier between them and the people of the United States.

Few of the priests speak English, and fewer still are in sympathy with modern democratic tendencies; their teaching is out of touch with modern thought. The young Japanese recognize this, and many of them feel as did a young Hawaiian-born Japanese on the island of Kauai, who said, "Buddhism is not the dope for us."

When we turn from the influences hindering the Americanization of the Japanese to the positive forces for that end

and for that of the other Orientals in Hawaii, there is little to be said. For the most part, the adult Japanese was let alone, just as the adult immigrant of every other race has been let alone.

The only exception to this has been the Christian missionary work, which was begun in 1888 by the Methodist Episcopal Church, under the direction of Bishop M. C. Harris, at that time in charge of Japanese mission work on the Pacific coast. Later this work was transferred to the Hawaiian Board, the local society which has inherited the work of the early missionaries. In September, 1894, the Methodist Church again began to work among the Japanese, working more or less in coöperation with the Hawaiian Board. This work has been extended to include Koreans and Filipinos. The American Episcopal Church and possibly some other smaller organizations also carry on a little Japanese work.

The chief characteristic of the work of all these boards has been its utter inadequacy. The American churches seem to have had their eyes closed to the needs and possibilities of the immigrant in Hawaii as well as everywhere else in America. If a strong Christian organization could have been on the ground when the Japanese began to arrive and had cared for them and assisted them in the days of their inexperience and need, and could have gotten them started under Christian auspices, the whole outlook would be different to-day. What the result might have been may be judged by the notable work the Christian missionary societies, notwithstanding their handicaps, have accomplished in Hawaii. Many of their converts have returned to Japan to become successful evangelists and prominent business men, and as a whole the Christian community is the most completely Americanized element of the Japanese population.

Closely allied to the work of Christian missions, although stressing more heavily the social features, is the splendid work done by the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. Both of these societies are well staffed and finely equipped, and both are doing very successful work among the Orientals in Honolulu. Both are, by their history and purposes, essentially city movements, and

although the men's society is now carrying on rural work on the island of Kauai and the women's society is beginning to reach out a little toward country work, their influence is little felt outside of the city of Honolulu.

If the adult Japanese has been neglected, the same cannot be said of his children. In lonely plantation camps everywhere the public school has opened its doors for their benefit, and no Japanese has failed to take advantage of it. Considering the way in which the schools of Hawaii are overrun with non-English-speaking children, the results of their work are in every way deserving of praise. They are the true melting pot, the only factory in the islands whose product is Americanization. If the public schools could have free courses, could be adequately financed, and if their work could be unhindered by criticism and outside race prejudice, another generation would see the elements now in the islands as well assimilated and as homogeneous as the average of the mainland. I have introduced this statement with an if, for race prejudice has already done much to hinder the work of the schools and to kill in the bud the ambition for Americanization which the schools are working to produce.

It is said by many of my friends that among the most anti-American of the Japanese in the islands are the young men born in Hawaii and educated in the American schools. My own observations tend to confirm the truth of these statements and to furnish an explanation, an explanation which is not complimentary to us Americans. The Hawaii-born Japanese is largely what we have made him. Our influence over his father and mother has been practically negligible. We have done with them what we have done with the great majority of our immigrants—simply let them alone. They may not have such roseate views of America as they once had; for, except from the outside, they have seen little but the darker and more seamy sides of American life. But on the whole they have had a good time in America. Where their work has been hardest it has not been as hard as a farmer's life in Japan, and many of them have made money beyond their fondest dreams. They have heard little of the anti-Japanese agitation, and what they have heard has made little difference to

them. Most of them still expect to return to Japan some day and they think of Japan and not of America as "home."

With their children the case is wholly different. We have educated them, taught them to sing "My country, 'tis of thee," and, in the lower grades at least, they sing with the best "Land where my fathers died."

But the higher they go in our school the more keenly they feel the prejudice against them; the more nearly they come to our social standards the more galling becomes the social discrimination to which they are subjected. At the same time they see far more clearly than Americans can do the flaws and imperfections of this country—our disregard for law, the almost ridiculous inefficiency of our police system, the corruption of local politics, the sensationalism and misrepresentations of our press; none of these things are hidden from young Oriental eyes, and they all tend to make American citizenship far less a prize to be striven for than any of us realize.

All these things would be overlooked, however, if we frankly recognized their status and treated them accordingly. If the people of Hawaii wish these Hawaiian-born Japanese to be loyal American citizens they must be willing to recognize them as such and cease to class all "Japs" together. Distrust and suspicion must cease on our side, if we would have confidence and loyalty on theirs. Dislike begets dislike, as certain as love is kindled by love, and loyalty to American ideals will be hard, indeed, to secure so long as the young Japanese have reason to dislike the Americans in whom these ideals are supposed to be concretely represented. If they like us, they will want to be like us, and in that they are not wholly peculiar. The Japanese is incurably ambitious, and his most deeply rooted desire is to own land or, if that be impossible, to lease it. There is, however, little opportunity for home building or home owning in the territory of Hawaii. The tillable lands of the territory are either owned or controlled by large corporations or owned by the territory itself. The laws provide, under rather complicated conditions, for an allotment of homesteads to American citizens, under which about 3,000 people have secured holdings. But more than one third of these are less than ten

acres in extent and are scarcely enough for a family living. From the beginning there has been an effort to favor Hawaiians in these allotments, and there are more homesteaders who are Hawaiians than there are of any other race. In all, 164 Japanese have taken up homesteads, their holdings averaging 27.5 acres each. The assignments are made to the applicants by lot, and the land is sold at its full valuation so that considerable capital is required even to become the possessor of one of the small patches of the "little landers." There is no opportunity in Hawaii for the acquisition at a nominal price of a "quarter section," 160 acres, of rich government land, such as proved the making of the settlers in the Middle Western States.

That in spite of the difficulties involved, the Japanese have succeeded as homesteaders as well as they have, is no small tribute to their industry and intelligence, and to their ability to succeed when working alone.

The older Japanese who have left the plantations to become farmers on leased lands are also doing well. In the Kona district, on the Island of Hawaii, where hundreds of them are raising coffee, Americanization is, perhaps, not so far advanced as among the homesteaders, but their industry and thrift have turned the mountainside, only recently a thicket of cactus and of lantana bushes, into one great coffee plantation sixty miles long and some two or more miles in width. The leaseholds are from five to twenty acres, and at the present prices of coffee all are doing well and making money. The public schools were having their vacation at the time of my visit, but early every morning the roads were thronged with bright-eyed, sturdy little Japanese boys and girls on their way to the language schools, of which there must be a dozen in the district.

Even where the parents do not leave the plantations they are eager to secure the best educational advantages for their children. Wherever there is a high school there is a demand for dormitories where the boys and girls from the plantations can be boarded while attending school. In the Hilo High School in particular, Japanese boys and girls seem to be taking their places on equal terms, not only in the class rooms, but also in all the

"activities" of the school, and the graduates are giving a good account of themselves in all departments of business life. One wonders if these successes are not the very reason for the prejudice against the Japanese. They are feared for their very virtues, they are disliked because they succeed, while the good-natured Hawaiian is liked for his very indolence.

Prophecy is dangerous business, but my observation leads me to believe that the political dominance of the islands by Japanese will not come nearly so soon as some have thought, and that it will not be the calamity that some have predicted when it does arrive. No allowance has been made for the thousands of Japanese who in the next twenty years will return to their native land, nor for the multitudes of cases where the children will accompany their parents. I believe this will be the case with the majority of plantation laborers. Where the Japanese have made homes for themselves, I believe that if Americanization is encouraged and not forced, the next generation will be able to meet their political duties and will be found to be as good American citizens as any in the islands.

The situation presents a challenge to the Christian Church, which we must clearly understand and which we must not fail to meet. The 110,000 Japanese are the most important racial element on the islands; we must not allow prejudice to blind our eyes to that fact. They are not yet Christianized nor Americanized, and the success of the latter process will depend upon the former one. Neither of these desirable results will take place by simply waiting for them to occur.

WORKING WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

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It is peculiarly the distinction of the ministry that we are supremely workers with the supernatural. That belief underlies and penetrates and authorizes and colors our calling throughout the wide range of its conception in the religions of men. This conception has suffered from the ignorance of men, and the selfishness of men, and the superstition of men, and the greed of men. It has been exercised as an instrument of fear. It has been capitalized for selfish, sordid gain. It has been claimed as special privilege. It has been prostituted to witchcraft and necromancy. It has bolstered injustice. It has set men apart from their fellows. It has dared to claim the keys of heaven, but at its heart there has been unquestionable truth—man can work with the supernatural!

In our Protestant conception of ministry the supernatural is neither a special privilege nor a separating distinction. It is the privilege of every sincere, believing man, but it is peculiarly the force with which we, as ministers, work; the something which saves our efforts from the sheer futility and transiency of a human agency alone.

Do we believe this? Do we believe that we may work with God, not in a sentimental way, not in some vague and poetic fashion with dreamy faith in the somewhereness of a heavenly Comrade, but with the certainty with which men work with the physical forces of steam and electricity? Do we believe this? The answer we are impelled to give will demonstrate where the dynamics are in our ministry, and what they are; and the problems of the modern ministry are dynamic rather than methodic.

The great and never-ending controversy of the church has been to prove that there is a supernatural, to prove that her origin was more than chance, that her Founder was more than a man, that her theology is more than a theory, that her movement is more than a propaganda, that her success is more than method,

that her power is more than organization—to prove that all worth having, worth honoring in her long history of achievement, is due to this—that she is working with the supernatural!

The peculiar peril of the church and of the ministry is that we lose the supernatural out of our conceptions, out of our efforts in the name of God. The continual and historic peril of religion has been the unconscious substitution of the form for the fact, of the creed for the faith, of the rite for the experience. The peril is always possible that the ministering man may cease to believe that he is a worker with the supernatural; that he may substitute theory for faith, that he may depend upon method rather than God, that he may reduce the mystery of religion to mere mechanics of mind and will. Peculiarly this has been the peril of our age when men, searching more deeply the phenomena of life and grasping its facts and processes more surely than any other generation, have been tempted to believe that after all there is no supernatural, no mystery.

The heart of any successful ministry is the faith that man works with God and that God is working with man. This thing we strive to do is too mighty for human powers. Psychology can tell us how the human mind operates and the leverages possible to start it toward action. Pedagogy can tell us the principles of education by means of which we can imbed in the intellectual life the truths we desire to make a part of that life. Social Science can tell us how we may set in motion the multitudes of humanity toward more perfect social conditions. Social Service can tell us how we can ameliorate the living conditions of men and free them from their miseries. None of these, however, can tell us how to free that mysterious, invisible spirit, which is the man himself, from the fetters which his own sins have fixed upon him. Winning an individual soul to Christ is something more than the skillful organization and manipulation of the forces of sentiment, idealism, thought, and faith. The ministry which does not have a Supernatural in it cannot change a life, cannot redeem a community, cannot save a world.

We have been suffering from a period of machine-made evangelism. Our failures go back primarily to a lack of supernatural

in our efforts. We have had man-made organization. We have had method. We have had system. We have had skilled direction. We have engineered great city-wide revivals, but we have been afraid to trust a possible convert, unless he signed a card. We have made evangelism so largely human and so little divine that there is no need to wonder why we have failed so frequently. The thing which made evangelism a success in the pentecostal days is what the modern church needs—we need the empowering and presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit. In other days men expected and sought his help. In these days we are surprised to find him here. What is true of evangelism is equally true of all our ministry. We have been mighty with man and puny with God. We have made our divinely given task a human adventure. We have become spiritual engineers, religious mechanics, specialists in organization, and forgotten that the only power sufficient to move even our little human machinery is the mighty power of the great God with whom we work. If we go to the heart of the problem we shall find that unconsciously, in the heart of many a minister and many a layman, we have come to practically discredit the supernatural.

There are many perils in the ministry—perils of pride and perils of selfishness; perils of the flatteries of men and the oppositions of men; perils of the mind and perils of the body; perils of the eye and perils of the ear; perils of vaulting ambition and perils of overwhelming discouragement—but the peril of perils in ministry is to lose God! And God has been lost before this by ministering men. To lose God, who is the power and the reason in this thing we do, this is indeed tragedy. To speak, and our preaching be only an echo! To plead, and our pleas prove only words! To comfort, and our comforting be only human sympathy! To shepherd, and our shepherding be only a habit! To stand before the world as a prophet of God and hear no voice saying "Thus shalt thou speak"! To be known as God's man, and within our souls to know that God has departed and answers us no more! To lose God, the sense of God, the conscious power of God, the intimacy with God, the assurance with God out of our ministry, this is the supreme tragedy of our calling.

The demands upon us as ministering men are great and increasing, never greater than now; the demands for knowledge, for leadership, for personality, for eloquence, for executive ability, for talents extraordinary. This is no day for little men. As a speaker recently remarked, "To be little now is a sin against humanity and against God!" To-day demands scholarship, and must have it; demands leadership and will have it; demands a hundred things, but its supreme demand of the ministering man is that he be empowered of God. We may meet every demand of the times but this, but if the mystery of the present God, the empowering Christ, be not in us have we a right still to minister in God's name?

If we are to be workers with the supernatural we must know how to make contact with the supernatural. We must be experts in this business and not fumblers. A minister of God ought to be as certain in his ability to make contact with divine power as the electrician in the factory to throw the switches and bring the power to the various machines. A power which is as uncertain, as unreliable, as fickle as we have made the spirit appear to be is a denial of the presence of the Holy Spirit. Power from God is not a chance gift some favored few may enjoy. If God be what Jesus declared him and experience has proven him to be then the supernatural is a possibility everywhere and with every one who fulfills his conditions. Let the church of God learn this secret of divine empowering and we will take this world for God in less than a generation.

The hour for abandon has come to modern Christianity. The task confronting us is too great for any human power. We stand in our world with the only solution for this world's woes, but this world brushes us impatiently aside as an obstruction in its path. It sneers at our prayers. It jeers at our gospel. It laughs at our God. Either Christianity has failed after two thousand years of trial and is even now on its way to the limbo of all outgrown faiths, or it must conquer overwhelmingly. As we measure the powers against us we know that merely human organization and method and leadership cannot do this thing. We must have God! But we cannot have God until God has us, until his followers have

dared to go farther in his name, trusting in his power, than men have ever gone in Christian history. Are we willing to go that far?

General Gordon once said that "England was made by her adventurers, not by her statesmen!" So can it be said of the church that her periods of greatness were her periods of adventure. Paul was an adventurer and seized Europe for Christ. Luther was an adventurer and dared to break the thrall of feudal religion. Wesley was an adventurer and led the way back to the reality of Christian experience. Thank God, religion is adventuring in our day! Whatever the shortcomings of the Inter-Church World Movement it was magnificent adventure. In a drab day of littleness its daring blazed new horizons of Christian thought, set new magnitudes for faith. What matters the mere failure of the instrument! We have adventured beyond the bounds of content, and the visions we have seen will be ours till some new and surer adventure realizes them for God. Let us fix faith on God. Let us expand our souls to his magnitudes and amplitudes. The world is waiting for men who dare to fling themselves upon the might of God.

THE HOMILETICAL VALUE OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

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THE Epistle to the Hebrews is the preacher's own book. Its style differentiates it from all the other New Testament books, and to some it may have appeared a speculative treatise. But this epistle can be understood only by first recognizing its intensely practical aim. Written as it is by a man of wide learning and deep piety, to save a particular body of Christians from a threatened lapse of faith, the letter voices many a plea which must awaken throbbing sympathy in a preacher's heart.

The writer, an eloquent man, his heart on fire for Christ, loves his readers and now pleads, now exhorts, now prays for them, fearful lest they "neglect so great salvation" as Jesus brought them. The personal note is dominant, yet the writer, still nameless to us, has successfully hidden himself behind his Christ and has been content to decrease so that the Son of God increase in the attention of these early Christians.

The method of the book teaches a pastor much. The writer does not scold, although from Chapter 5 it appears that his readers quite tempt him to do so. After complaining to them that they are too dull of hearing to understand what he wanted to say (much to our own loss and disappointment), he does not leave them with caustic words, but (6. 1) exhorts them to "press on," adding the encouraging note, "and this will we do, if God permit." Here is a tactful proceeding. He encourages delinquent disciples by making his own progress in the Christian life one with theirs.

A very practical item in the method of the epistle is discovered in the illustrative eleventh chapter. The entire chapter is an excursus. And it would have been a distinct loss had it been omitted. The chapter is occasioned by the remark (10. 39), "We are of them that have faith unto the saving of the soul." The mention of "faith" suggests that to his dull-eared hearers (5. 11)

explanation and illustration is necessary. The writer does not commit the too common error of assuming understanding in his hearers that they do not possess. It is best for us not to assume that hearers of sermons are all too familiar with the fundamentals of the gospel. The great truths must be enforced, explained, and illustrated in manifold ways.

Once more the method. The writer goes to the Scriptures for his illustrations and proofs. Nowadays a preacher would not expound the Old Testament texts in just the way our Alexandrian scholar did, but it is a sound principle to make great use of the Bible in enforcing the gospel appeal. Note the numerous references to the great men of Jewish history.

The use of exhortation is still another point of excellence in the method of our writer. The frequent occurrence of hortatory paragraphs (2. 1-4; 3. 1, 2; 3. 12-19; 4. 1, 14-16; 6. 1-3; 10. 19-25; 12. 1-3; 12. 12, 13; 13. 1-13) agrees well with the practical nature of the treatise. In this respect the Epistle to the Hebrews is a classical example of the exceeding fitness of warm-hearted exhortation in a finished and even elegant literary production.

But most of all this man sets a noble example to every preacher of the Word in that from the opening sentence to the closing ascription of glory to his Lord he holds up Jesus Christ as the one abiding person and supremely effectual supplier of all human need. He sets Christ at the beginning, at the end, and at the climax of his discourse, just as he places the Son at the beginning and consummation of all things in the words, "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to-day, yea and forever" (13. 8). These words may be taken as the theme of the epistle.

This preeminence of Christ in the letter to the Hebrews makes the latter a fertile homiletical field. Combined with its practical tone and evangelistic aim it provides the earnest student with more suggestive texts than can be treated in many weeks of preaching. One rises from a study of the epistle with an appreciation of what Horace Bushnell felt when he said that the texts came crowding into his mind faster than the Sundays came upon which he might utter their insistent messages.

A few of the sermonic possibilities of the thirteen chapters under review will be briefly noted.

It is of peculiar interest to note how this writer, apart from the other New Testament writers, conceives of Christ. He presents him under three different titles, namely, Son, King, and High Priest. Of these the last seems most prominent. One does not have to read far to see that the office implied in either term is involved more or less in the others. Yet the distinctions are made with purpose. The Son is in contrast to the angels (1. 7, 8; 2. 9), whom Jewish lore would exalt above the earthly Jesus; the King, "crowned with glory and honor," is the Son, triumphant over even "the sufferings of death," the King, not only as object of the Messianic hope of the Jewish people but the King of all peoples and of all the earth; the High Priest is the ministering and sympathetic Jesus, not removed from the sphere of his activity in the earth, but rather, because of the spiritual nature of his "throne of grace," able to supply every need (4. 16), unhampered by place or time.

The thought that Jesus is the Son of God pervades the whole discourse. The keynote struck at the opening is heard throughout the composition. The writer insists upon Jesus' supremacy, his sovereignty (on the throne of grace), and his complete sympathy with human need.

The author's conception of Christ may be set forth in partial outline somewhat as follows:

The Son is creator and preserver of the world (1. 3). The angels are not as high (1. 4). He was active in the very creation of the spheres (1. 2) and as creator is the proper object of adoration and worship (1. 6), even by the angels. All things are subject to him (1. 8), hence he is supreme.

The Son gained undeniable right to his title through his human experience. Upon this phase of Jesus's life our writer dwells at length. He often uses the human name Jesus (3. 1; 4. 14; 6. 20; 7. 22) in preference to Christ. Jesus partook of the nature of men and became a subject even to death (2. 14), and in his triumph at the end freed his brothers from the power of death.

Jesus met all forms of temptation (4. 15) and remains the

surpassing help and inspiration of his fellows because he yielded in no single point. Grief was his (5. 7) and he learned by his own experience how hearts cry out for God and how faith takes hold of the promise. By the very things that he suffered his obedience became conspicuous (5. 8). Having no need to offer sacrifice for his own sins (7. 27) his human experience fitted Jesus surpassingly to help those of his brothers who call upon him.

Jesus is the living, not the dead Christ. The grave could not hold him (13. 20). That the writer emphasized the session at the place of power on high above the fact of his resurrection, however, appears through the absence of references to the resurrection itself other than this benediction. But the Son has assumed his rightful place at the right hand of the Father (1. 3; 4. 14; 8. 1; 9. 24; 10. 12) and is crowned with glory and honor (2. 9). He abides forever (7. 25), and he abides the same (13. 8). His entrance into heaven has a peculiar significance. He is the forerunner of the race (6. 20) and has established instead of a visible sanctuary the throne of grace (4. 16).

The commonplace character of all this disappears when the historical background of this treatise is recalled. Then the only Bible was the Old Testament, although Paul had probably written all his letters and some of our gospels were assuming shape. Mark may already have appeared. But none of these were yet referred to as "scripture." Eyewitnesses of the events of Jesus's life were becoming few. Events at Jerusalem indicated the ultimate triumph of Rome. Christian hearts, especially among those whose early training had been within Judaism, would begin to be as sad as those of the two disciples who walked to Emmaus, believing that all was lost. Persecution and the spoiling of their goods (10. 32-34) added to the temptation to apostasy.

To men who perhaps thought chiefly upon the historical Jesus and his Messiahship, comes our prophet with a new interpretation of Jesus's words, "Lo, I am with you all the days," and urges his message with all the fervor of an enthusiast. This New Testament prophet has seen a vision of the living, ministering Jesus and has as background to his quivering words a glowing view of the Christ at the place of power, yet touching hand and heart with

every needy person in the world, imparting grace and mercy. The urgency and glow of his exhortation: "Let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace!" (4. 16) marks one of the high points of early Christian inspiration.

This passage exhibits the favorite doctrine of our writer that Jesus is really, spiritually, dynamically present with every believer. This thought may well be presented under the topic: The Practical Value of the Throne of Grace. Either one of two lines of thought may be emphasized. One is the distinction between the Jesus of history and the Christ of experience. The best argument for the Jesus of history *is* the Christ of experience. There is, in fact, no refutation of the "I know" of experience. Because Jesus is spiritually present to-day in the experience of men, it is certain that he lived as a man on earth, and that although he really died he now lives.

How different it is with other men of the past! Moses was faithful, it is true, and performed a great service to Israel (3. 5). Yet his influence is only that of many other departed saints. Their memory is a blessing, their deeds are recited, their works are carried on. But Christ is unique in that he takes an active part in the lives of men now. Moses, David, Elijah, these we know about in history; Jesus we know in his personal ministry at every point of need (3. 6).

Yet our writer has no doubt about the historical Jesus. Many passages in his treatise show his familiarity with the sources of the synoptic Gospels. Jesus was constituted in every respect as his brothers (2. 17), and can enter helpfully into all forms of suffering because he was refined and perfected in the furnace of suffering (5. 8). But not now would he point to the Jesus of history so much as to the ascended and glorified High Priest, who ministers at the sanctuary not made with hands, the King, whose throne is not in time or place but not far from any needy soul, the Son, whom fellowship with human need had made compassionate and whose joy it was to make human burdens lighter.

The other line of thought suggested by Heb. 4. 16 involves a comparison of the idea of the throne of grace with Paul's notion of the mystical union of Christ and believer. With neither of these

New Testament writers is the idea in question a theological dogma. Speculation has entered the field since their day. With each it must have been a practical fact of experience. As such, it furnished a mighty impetus to their spiritual lives. And with each, it was no small factor in framing their appeals to other Christians to hold fast the faith once delivered to the saints.

Reference was made above to the necessity of preaching upon the fundamentals of the gospel. With such a cardinal doctrine as that of the atonement, for example, there are excellent texts in Hebrews. The best is probably 2. 9. Again, 13. 12 offers a good point of departure. But this book offers no text for a theory of the atonement. A preacher does well in preaching upon the atonement from a text in Hebrews to do so in the spirit of the writer. Here the atonement is conceived as a cardinal fact and its efficacy to depend upon its acceptance by the needy soul.

In 2. 9 the great fact of the atonement is presented in a few rapid but noble strokes. This text repays careful expository work. It presents the life of Jesus, its explanation in the incarnation, its aim or high purpose and its wondrous reward. A sermon on the Crown of Christ may be based upon the single phrase, "crowned with glory and honor." What can compose a suitable crown for Christ but redeemed personality? Surely not even the most costly and rare materials could satisfy him who "tasted death for every man." If Paul could say (1 Thess. 2. 19), "What is our hope . . . or crown. Are not even ye?" Jesus surely will find his greatest crown of glory and honor in the men and women who hail him as their Redeemer. The conclusion of a sermon based upon this thought would reflect the ardent intent of the author if it took the form of an exhortation to pure and holy living. If we are counted worthy to be called the crown of glory of our ascended Lord, how can we gain our own consent to an unholy thought, to an unworthy deed?

In this epistle much is made of Hope. This man might have said, "Now abideth faith, love, and hope, and the greatest of these is hope." Hope is important in this epistle because it bears a close relation to the writer's emphasis upon the practical values in the religious life, especially in relation to the accessibility of the

throne of grace. In varied forms this thought recurs. In 6. 18, where it is said that we who have fled for refuge have strong encouragement to lay hold of the hope set before us, the connection is very closely made with the presence of Jesus within the veil, where he constantly ministers to needy folk. To the Christian of the first century this meant that even if the sanctuary at Jerusalem were no more, the spiritual ministry of Jesus, the Priest of every believer, was far more effective and always at hand. To the Christian of to-day it means that although we cannot see Jesus in his humanity, his humanity touches ours and that with all the vitalizing power of the divine.

In the objective sense, hope is a chief stimulant in the Christian life. It steadies the life in emergencies as an anchor holds a tossing bark. Hope is an incentive to effort in the field white to the harvest. Hope makes definite our instinct of immortality. Hope is the focus of all the facts, apparently unrelated and disjointed as they are, in human experience. Hope, in a word, stands for all that is within the veil.

"And what shall we more say" of the multitude of suggestive texts? In conclusion a few of these, very preachable, may be mentioned, along with suggested themes. These are all in the nature of practical sermons.

From 2. 1 the caption "Heed or Drift" is easily deduced. "The Unfettered Christian" heads well the hortatory sermon upon 12. 1. In 12. 3 is found a basis for showing "Encouragement from the Endurance of Christ." With 6. 1 as a text the preacher can enforce the "Duty of Maturity." Or, upon a rally occasion, the same text may be used as a motto for a sermon entitled "Forward!" 7. 19 offers an excellent opportunity to portray this prophet's view of "The Dawning of the Better Hope," 7. 25 giving further expression to the same thought. The eleventh chapter gives abundant material for a discourse upon "The Heroes of God," or "The Chivalry of Faith." Finally, since all in this short epistle centers about the Son of God, let 13. 8, "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to-day, yea and forever," form the text of an oft-repeated and lovingly enforced message on "The Same Jesus" or "The Constant Christ."

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE SIN OF SCHISM

Archbishop Trench, in his not very useful treatise on New Testament Synonyms, after learnedly quoting Augustine and Saint Jerome, indorses this conclusion: "Heresy is theoretic schism and schism is practical heresy." Which is all very true as to the ecclesiastical use of the terms, but wholly incorrect as to their New Testament meaning. There they are used to denote divisions and factions *within* the church, rather than separation from it. Indeed, Paul seems to look upon heresy, that is, a party spirit based on self-chosen opinions, as a necessary outgrowth of individualism and, although objectionable, having a providential value in the development of Christian character (1 Cor. 11. 18).

In our own day the word schism is most freely employed by those communions which call themselves "*historic* churches," and is applied by them to those who denounce and defy the despotism of a fixed order of things. Now, of course, any body which has become static and changeless in its policy is *not* historic. For history is the realm of free development; it is the kingdom in which man escapes the rigid mechanical methods of inorganic nature, and enters the richer, fuller life of progress and change. The really historic churches are those non-conforming bodies which give free play to their organic life by continual readjustment of their policy to the changing needs of mankind.

What are the marks of the true church? It was defined in the early creeds as "one holy, catholic, and apostolic." But we look in vain in any of the so-called "historic" churches to find one which can claim to possess any one of the four marks—Unity, Sanctity, Catholicity, or Apostolicity—and there is no visible organization in the world that can carry in its charter all four sacred signatures.

Organic Unity, it must be agreed, does not exist. Sanctity can be found in all communions, even the most erroneous in doctrine, but

can be claimed by none as a whole. Apostolicity must be denied to any of them by the pretty generally accepted verdict of historic criticism, which finds a great gap unbridged between the apostles and the monarchical episcopate, or any specialized form of church polity.

There remains the third mark, that of catholicity. And here we face the compelling fact that at the present time the only communions which can, in some measure, lay claim to the catholic spirit are the Free Churches which have broken the bonds of churchly order. They alone extend the hand of Christian brotherhood to all believers; they alone place no bars of separation between souls who are united to Jesus Christ in loyal devotion.

Catholicism is inclusive and not exclusive. The holy catholic church must be big enough to contain a cathedral and a camp meeting; it must have room in it for the tom-toms and tambourines of the Salvation Army, and the quiet of the Quaker meeting, as well as for the choral celebration of the Holy Eucharist. It must be universal in its adaptation to all human temperaments and the psychological differences of race and class. Its gates must be open on every side—toward the north of thought and the south of feeling, toward the east of tradition and the west of progress. It must link personal piety to world program.

Who, then, are the schismatics? They are those who set up any artificial barriers against the religious fellowship of all the faithful. The Bishop of Rome, with his assertions of exclusive authority, is the greatest of all schismatics, for he has raised the highest walls of separation between saintly souls. Nearest to him in the sin of schism are such communions as the Oriental and the Anglican who thrust away from pulpit and altar the prophet of God who received his divine anointing vertically at first hand from the skies, and not by any series of horizontal earthly contacts. (One fears that the long chain of tactual succession fails utterly to transmit the divine electricity because of many burnt-out fuses.) More than this, any denomination that raises any tests of membership apart from those that are moral and spiritual, is non-catholic to that extent. Strict confessionalism, with its formal requirement of intellectual assent rather than saving faith, and close communion conditional upon exclusive immersion, are schismatic sins of the same class as the imperialism of the Roman Church and very cloudy historic Episcopacy of Anglicanism.

Christian unity *must* come if the world is to be redeemed. But

the outward unity of form must grow out of the inward unity of life. It must have its basis in the unity of the Spirit and not in any ecclesiastical uniformity. A horse and a cow are both animals, although one has horns and the other hoofs, by virtue of the common life within them. The higher we rise in the organic world, the greater becomes the variety of form and the unity of life. The crystal may be more symmetrical than a blossom or a bird, but it has no vital relationship to its environment and no power of growth. This is as true of the social organism as of physical forms. A living church will be a growing church, one in the dynamic urge of its inward spirit, but multiform in the outward expressions of its life.

Final church unity can never be reached by any mechanical methods of conformity. The shortest path to that holy goal is by closer association in religious activities. A serving church will become a united church. The church whose object is building up its own strength and prestige is a source of schism. The church that lives to serve the community and save the world will soon find itself in a league offensive and defensive with all lovers of the Lord Jesus. The schismatic spirit is nearest death in mission fields where all religious bodies have the common objective of social and personal salvation. A selfish church and a selfish nation mean strife and war; a serving church and a serving nation will bring in the promised blessing of brotherhood and peace.

There can be little defense for the existence of the denominational differences of the present. Most of them have their origin in issues that are wholly of yesterday. There are few of our reasons for division that any of us would dare to plead out loud in the presence of the great white throne. They have only the monumental sanctity of dead things. The breaches in Methodism and Presbyterianism are kept alive by an inherited selfwill for which there are only two remedies—a few fine funerals and a real revival of the perfect love that casts out the foolish fears that prevent unification.

The sin of schism! It exists in its most deadly form in those churches that regard the forms of religion as sacrosanct; but it also still lingers in those bodies which, having broken loose from the enslaving bonds of tradition, are feeling their way toward that "unity of the Spirit which is the bond of peace."

TRUE AMERICANISM

A Lesson for the Fourth of July

The Declaration of Independence was more than a proclamation of American freedom, it was an assertion of universal human rights. It was an assertion of the principle of self-determination as fundamental to democracy in government. The statement that "all nations derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," is one of universal application. The Declaration of Independence, therefore, is the charter of a new liberty, the announcement of a larger patriotism.

Is patriotism a virtue or a vice? Count Tolstoi bitterly denounced it as a narrow, selfish ideal which had been the cause of intolerance and human misery. And every Christian must feel that a doctrine which narrows human sympathy and responsibility to a single nationality is a denial of the truth of universal brotherhood, and a repudiation of the blood of Christ which has broken down the walls of partition between all the races of human kind.

But American patriotism is not that kind. Such a selfish passion is what the English call "jingoism," and the French "Chauvinism." In the American spirit the love of country is made perfect in the love of all mankind. The enthusiasm for humanity is the inner essence of the American spirit. The rights, claimed and fought for by our forefathers, were not the rights of a race or a people—they were the rights of human nature itself. The inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, is not an American right alone, it is the right of all mankind. This stone which the builders of thrones rejected, the founders of our Republic set at the head of the corner, and there invested it with a majesty and sublimity which attests the divinity of its origin. For real democracy is simply the political expression of Christianity.

Edmund Burke said of the great Declaration and its results that the effect was not less than would come from the introduction of a new planet into the solar system. It became the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night to guide all oppressed peoples in their pilgrimage through the wilderness of despotism to the promised land of freedom and spiritual opportunity.

American wars, for the most part, have been less selfish than wars in general. The second war for independence, that of 1812, sordid and seemingly indecisive as it was, was really for the freedom

of the seas and the right of expatriation. It started the movement which at last secured for every human being the right to select his own domicile and his own national allegiance. It also was a step toward the freedom of the seas. Against British press-gangs, West India buccaneers and Algerian pirates, our country struck the blow that made the wide ocean the common pathway of the nations.

Even the Spanish war, brought on us by the "jingoes, the jobbers, and the journalists," who are now seeking to embroil us with Mexico and Japan, resulted in independence to oppressed Cuba and the liberation of the Philippines from Spanish tyranny. And our pledge of self-rule to the Philippines will be finally fulfilled, for American promises are not mere "scraps of paper."

But it was in the Great War of 1914-18 that the United States at last gave the world the sublime example of a nation waving the sword in the knightly spirit of world service and not for military glory, political prestige or national aggrandisement. We fought, not for money indemnities nor territorial expansion, but simply for the international ideal of "making the world safe for democracy."

The same is as true of our diplomatic as of our military history. From John Jay to John Hay, from George Washington to Woodrow Wilson, America has been the world's leader in putting conscience, rather than conquest for selfish interests, foremost in negotiations between the world powers. She has always silenced the claims of greed in the interest of justice.

And what of to-day? Shall we abandon the noble tradition of true Americanism and its ideal of universal world service, at the cry of "America First!" uttered in the same selfish spirit as raised the sinister song of *Deutschland Ueber Alles?* Most of the cheap politicians who label themselves "100 per cent American" do not know what genuine Americanism is; they are simply belated disciples of the Prussian doctrine of the state, which wrecked the world in the wicked war through which we have just passed.

"America First!" It is a splendid slogan if you translate it, America first in the world leadership toward liberty and in the unselfish service of all mankind. The vision in Isaiah of a "servant nation," which finds its glory in carrying the salvation of Jehovah to the ends of the earth, is the gleam which America has been following for 145 years. May no petty oligarchy of party politicians dim for us the radiance of that dream!

By the sacred seal of the great Declaration, we Americans are

pledged to continue the crusade for a world democracy. If we fail, there are rising new tempests of human passion between Europe and Asia, and on the shores of the Pacific, threatening a world catastrophe far more terrible than that of 1914. True Americanism demands that we be not last, but first of the peacemakers who shall frame a covenant, backed by our entire moral and material resources, which shall end the time of earthly strife in "the parliament of man, the federation of the world." The new internationalism is the only salvation of nationalism.

There is one body which possesses the international mind; it is that invisible fellowship known as the Christian Church. It is the strongest tie that unites all mankind. Political programs may fail, the League of Nations may not succeed, but the "Communion of Saints" will abide and grow until all earth's kingdoms become the Kingdom of Christ. It binds all believing souls in a brotherhood that knows no bounds of geography, race, nations, or caste. This "unity of the Spirit," in spite of selfish politics, shall in God's good time secure the "bond of peace."

CONCERNING THE CENSUS

THREE censuses are recorded in the Bible. The first (Numbers 1. 1-4) was commanded by God; the second (2 Chronicles 21. 1) was inspired by the devil; the third (Luke 2. 1) was decreed by Cæsar. The United States, however, was the first civilized nation to provide for a periodic enumeration. The Constitution, adopted in 1789, provided for it, and the first census was taken in 1790. That of 1920 is the fourteenth, whose final figures have just been announced in 1921.

Ancient Israel was the first people to recognize the value of statistics. The books of Numbers and Chronicles are largely taken up with names and numbers. Then was born the modern science of sociology. Indeed, statistical information is the foundation of inductive science. Moses was the forerunner of Darwin, Galton, Spencer. The census has worth for sociology, economics, politics, medicine, and religion.

1. The census emphasizes the individual. We see population in the mass until a count reveals the units. This is still more true of the modern than of the ancient census. For then they did not count women and children. The fighting force of a nation was all that

was thought worth while. Jesus has put the crown of worth on womanhood and has put the child in the midst.

This conception of the individual both exalts and humbles. Each man is one, but he is only one. The President and the pauper, the millionaire and the tramp, the fool and philosopher, the saint and the sinner, each only counts one. The census strips off all distinctions, learning, wealth, birth, rank, beauty, and leaves us all equal on the enumerator's lists, even as we are before God. The census democratizes society.

So do the great events of life glorify the individual life. We are "wrapped in the solitude of our own originality." Birth and death banish distinctions; we are born and die alone. Marriage sets its seal on fundamental manhood and womanhood; it unites "this man" to "this woman," not this gentleman, lady, prince, or queen. Thus God deals with us. He has one name for us all, "sinner," but he has also "a new name" for each of us that comes by birth from above. Each of us is a separate thought of God. Even the hairs of our head are numbered.

Of the population of the Holy City it is written, "The Lord shall count, when he writeth up his people, This man was born there." The Church of God should be a true democracy where class and caste vanish before the majesty of simple manhood.

2. The census also recognizes relationships. A record of heredity is made. While our personality is the prime fact, the government wants to know our parentage. The count recognizes no "blue blood," all is red there, yet it is written, "They declared their pedigree." There are few more important facts to be recorded this year than the racial origin of our citizenship with its fine challenge to service in Americanization.

3. The census respects solidarity as well as individuality; there is a sensible socialism underlying it. Society is an organism. Moses numbered the people as a basis of taxation. The mob needs to be turned into an army, and counting is the first step. "We are one body and every one members one of another." We may reject the political program of socialism, but every Christian must say "Amen!" to its mottoes: "Each for all and all for each," "From every one according to his ability and to every one according to his need." The very taking of a census implies social solidarity. Only the good of the whole could justify society in asking such impertinent questions of each of us.

4. The census has a tragic side. In the census of 1920 there are probably thirty million names not on the list ten years ago, and there are at least fifteen million counted this year who will not be alive in 1930. What pathetic memories came to us as we filled the blanks! Out of the darkness of the womb into the shadow of death goes the great procession. Not one man counted this time was in the first census. "So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom."

5. The census has its limitations. It is said that "figures don't lie," but it is certain that figures do, for figures cannot tell all the truth of things.

There is a certain impotence in mere numbers, though they may be the boast of worldly pride. David numbered Israel at the instigation of Satan, and many a town brags of its growth in devilish conceit. Mere counting of noses cannot tell the real power of a church or a city. Gideon's army was strongest when it was smallest. There is a dangerous "fatalism of the majority," which Lord Bryce has described as a disease of democracy. God has not submitted the Ten Commandments to a popular vote. Bigness is not greatness.

Real worth cannot be tabulated. There is no mathematical formula for spiritual phenomena. "The Kingdom of God cometh not by observation," nor by census reckoning. Who can measure faith, hope, and love? The test of numbers is not final in moral matters. No earthly enumeration can figure out heavenly values. The census cannot report character. God has a record of his own. In that Golden Book, the "Lamb's Book of Life," is your name written there?

Our names may by accident be left out of the earthly census, but no accident can shut us out of the electing love of God. The Judgment Day shall announce the result of his electoral census.

THE DIVINE-HUMAN BIBLE[1]

THAT preacher will have a better Bible whom the critical process has enabled to discriminate between the transient and permanent elements in sacred literature, between the Book and the divine revela-

[1] In this article is continued the discussion of Biblical Criticism and Preaching, begun in the January-February issue of the Methodist Review.

tion which it incloses, for the preacher belongs to that same holy economy that produced the Bible. He is in the succession of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles who spoke as they were wrought upon by the Holy Spirit. Revelation existed millenniums before Moses, David, Isaiah, or Paul, and it lived in their lives before they wrote a single word. It is a record of religious experiences of abiding moral and spiritual reality, which men won from contact with the living God. It is a concentration of the stored spiritual testimony of the race, found at its best in the holy fellowship we call the church, and in the church found at its highest in that Book in which the princes of the heavenly kingdom have left their record of what God did in and by them. The spiritual life is propagated by the personal witness, and the Bible contains that witness in its loftiest literary expression. It enables us to follow the divine Spirit in the spiritual evolution of the race. It is more than a text-book for the minister; it is a treasury of inexhaustible spiritual material.

Revelation is divine; its record is human. The Bible is divine-human, like its Lord. As he wore the swaddling bands of a Jewish babe, was incarnate in human flesh, and grew in the stature and wisdom of a truly human development, so does the revelation of God embody itself in human speech, submit to the bondage of earthly form of thought and experience and grow with the growth of the race in its capacity to receive and reveal God. To deny the human element in the Bible is a sort of literary Docetism like that early and deadly heresy that rejected the humanity of Christ. Its outward form, like his, is subject to weariness, wasting, and death. In our holiest moments we must refuse to know either the eternal Word or the written Word after the flesh. We must affirm its humanness to go beyond it. We must, indeed, in deference to our understanding, come to the Bible as to any other book, but we can never leave it with that thought. It wears human and historical forms, and is not immune in that form to the limitations imposed by it, but is still most divine where most warmly human. For the supernatural ever works through and by the natural. All elements in the Bible are not of equal value for religious edification. The inclusion of the hare among ruminating animals in Leviticus, while not without its value as an object lesson of the Law of Holiness, is wholly without the moral certainty or the spiritual authority of the beatitude, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." The life in the human body has as truly created the hair upon the head as the brain within it,

but one can more easily dispense with the hair than with the brain. The medium of revelation being human is full of human defects and limitations. Human language can but imperfectly express the thought of the divine mind and the love of the divine heart. The Bible must also submit to the human process of translation and finally to the fallible interpretations of finite minds. Criticism may destroy many of the accidents; it cannot touch the substance of divine revelation. Not one of the staple tenets of religion is affected by its processes, but all are disengaged by it and disencumbered of their earthly dress.

What authority, it may be asked, remains in a book in which it is admitted there may be possible errors and earthly imperfections? The answer is not far to seek: it has just that authority which it needs to do its work, and that is all the authority which the pulpit can appropriate or use. That which is truly divine in the Book, its religious content, is *there,* and not in our theory of it. Its authority does not consist in itself, but in the sort of response it awakens in the soul. This is the only certainty that can carry conviction, the inward assurance created by the direct vision of truth. Revelation does not need authority; it confers it. Its messages are commands that are at home in the realm of motive and directly appeal to the will. That sermon is best which has this element of vision and immediacy and whose simple statement is its own best proof. The most drastic criticism which discovers multiplied errors in the Sacred Scriptures, when it meets the religious element in the Book is halted; in any effort to destroy the divine verity, it is as powerless as a sword to hack a sunbeam. The sort of infallibility claimed for the Bible on traditional theories does not make its religious worth. There is a fine phrase attributed to Cardinal Baronius: "The Bible was given us, not to teach us how the heavens go, but to tell us how to go to heaven" (quoted in Guizot's Meditations). The books of Samuel and of Chronicles differ widely in the number of shekels given by David to Araunah in payment for his oxen and the site of the temple (2 Sam. 24. 24; 1 Chron. 21. 25). What does it matter? We are not specially interested in the quotations of live stock or the price of real estate in Jerusalem at that remote date. No question of duty or destiny hangs upon such facts, but there is eternal worth in the kingly protest of David, "I will not offer unto the Lord that which doth cost me nothing." We must learn to respect the reserve of revelation, in that it does not furnish ready-

made answers for the questions raised by scientific or historical curiosity. It has indeed immense value as a historical source; it does supply a wealth of information in a thousand different directions; but in such matters it is subject to the question of criticism and may be corrected by investigation. Its supreme worth, and that which vindicates its claim to inspiration, is that it is "able to make us wise unto salvation." The locomotive headlight shows little of the landscape to the passengers, but it does light up the track before the engineer. Everything in Holy Scripture is subordinate to the divine revelation it incloses. Its history, archæology, geography, literature all have their interest to the Christian student, but he dare not rest his religious hope on such things. The preacher cannot make this earthly element the subject of his sermons. His message is found in those moral and spiritual magnitudes which the book discloses, which have an absolute worth in themselves, constituting their authority to every moral being. Bones are necessary to the structure of a shad, and are immensely interesting to the student of anatomy, but only the sweet flesh is nourishing to a hungry man. The religious use of the Bible which finds in it the very Food of the soul must take precedence with the preacher of the scientific, historical, and even the fascinating literary study of the Book.

Criticism has not only helped to define authority in this truly Protestant and spiritual sense, but it has also emphasized this authoritative element. That the historical books of the Old Testament are what is called pragmatic history has often been used by radical critics as an excuse for drawing inferences unfavorable to their veracity. That is for the most part pure assumption. The historic accuracy of many of the details of past history may lessen with the passing years, but its deeper truth will continue to grow with the growth of man's moral sense and intellectual insight. Contemporary chroniclers may have fewer errors in fact, but they must yield in value to fuller vision of the philosophic mind which constructs history out of facts. When we see in the Old Testament the culminating religious consciousness of Israel, reading all its past in the moral light of the prophetic teaching and legal discipline, gathering in one sheaf its songs, traditions, laws, and literature, and illuminating and interpreting all these by the radiant glory of its highest spiritual achievement, it gains new life and value. The inspiration passes back of the book into the history itself. "Thus *said* the Lord" yields in significance to "Thus *did* the Lord." God, and not man, is seen to

be the supreme actor in the affairs of this world. This point of view is of infinite value to the preacher. His duty is to proclaim that the religious view of the world is as valid as the scientific view, and in the end immeasurably more true, because inclosing more of the facts of life. Pragmatic, or, as Father Tyrrell calls it, prophetic history (Through Scylla and Charybdis, chap. ix), is truest to the deep heart of things. He who can see in the stories of Balaam's ass and of Jonah and the fish nothing but queer natural history has missed the meaning of the gracious message. Just because the Hebrew mind saw truth concretely and expressed it in symbols rather than propositions, it was fitted to be the medium to convey the truths of life and conduct, even as the Greek intellect with its love of abstractions was adapted to be the vehicle of scientific statement. The minister must learn to interpret Holy Scripture along the line of its own genius, and not allow its truth to be dominated or manipulated by the dogmatic passion for propositional truth. Even those prescientific answers of cosmogonic questions found in the first chapters of Genesis reveal the relation of God to his world as it could never be discovered in the laboratory or the observatory. These are the "truths that perish never."

It is this selective skill of the artistic and poetic mind that gives a higher value of what may be called symbolic history than is possessed by the work of the most realistic reporter. The story of the Fall of Man is an example. That somewhere in the dawn of history, with the awakening of the moral sense, man missed the path to divine fellowship is a part of the consciousness of the race told in all prehistoric traditions. But if we possessed the absolutely true details of that primitive triumph of flesh over spirit, it could not have this psychological truth and appeal found in the biblical story of the garden, the trees, the fruit, and the fall. Any analysis of the process of temptation in our own lives will respond to the ideal veracity of the scriptural symbolism.

And so the Bible becomes not apart from, but one with all God's dealings with the world. We no longer see his only revealing act in the dictation of a book. Revelation is not confined to Hebrew channels, although it was there that its rushing tides made deepest grooves in the rocks of time. It has served its purpose when it has given us its own vision of the living God. The preacher, to make this use of the sacred Book, must have caught its spirit and come to see all history, nature, and life as revelation.

I see the inundation sweet,
I hear the spending of the stream,
Through years, through men, through nature fleet,
Through love and thought, through power and dream.

Its authority is pedagogic; it will succeed so far as it teaches men to look beyond itself and causes them to cry, "Now we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard him ourselves" (John 4. 42).

It cannot be too often insisted upon that reality does not depend upon our construction of it. Facts are facts, and are not made or unmade by science. The stars shine on the same, even if astrology has given place to astronomy; their brightness does not depend upon any theory of their motion or their influence. The rings of Saturn are as glorious as ever, even if disintegrating criticism should show them to be composed of meteorites. That which is truly divine in the Bible is just the part which criticism cannot disturb, and its sacredness is the more surely attested by that very fact. There is a deep in the Holy Scriptures which speaks to the deep in the heart of man, and the diapason of its majestic music will speak all the more clearly when we no longer allow our ears to be distracted by the washing of the ripple on the surface or the cry of the lonely seabird above the waves. Practical ends survive the shock of changed doctrine. Bread will continue to nourish even when bacteriology has developed a new theory of yeast. Doubtless an age that knows chemistry will produce better bread than the age of scientific ignorance. Now the preacher is a dispenser of the bread of life rather than a chemist that inquires into its scientific structure. He ought to be the latter, if possible, but the former is his chief business.

THE HOUSE OF THE INTERPRETER

THERE is a very interesting parallelism between the miracles of Elijah and Elisha, his successor. The latter, however, is less stern and more social than his spiritual father, and possibly one can discern a more evangelical note in the interpretation of his life work. Yet even his brief biography contains bits of barbarism with little value for modern edification, save as they reveal the vast ethical advance that Divine Revelation has at last wrought. Such is the ghastly tale of the she-bears slaying the irreverent lads that mocked the prophet of God. The three typical studies which follow, how-

ever, are full of the eternal values, which no lapse of time can change or destroy.

The Gospel of Touch

The touching domestic tragedy of the death of the Shunammite's son and its triumphant sequel of restored life through the touch of Elisha, the prophet, is a lesson of the saving power of a consecrated personality (2 Kings 4. 25-37). Nothing helps life like life. Men are not saved by intellectual abstractions, but by contact with personal and living forces. All truth is a barren and fruitless ideality until it is made flesh in the throbbing tissues of living men and women.

The lady of Shunem had long before learned the blessing wrought in the home by the holy presence of a man of God. At her request her husband had built an addition to their house, a prophet's chamber, where the tired itinerant could rest on his long journeys across the scorching plains. Jehovah had honored their care for his servant by canceling the curse of childlessness and giving them a son to be the joy of their advancing years. And now the happy, hospitable home is in the depths of distress. The delightful domestic idyl has turned into terrible tragedy. The same sun, from which their friendly roof has so often sheltered the seer, has struck with swift death the son of their love. The sorrowing mother in her despair can appeal only to the man of God, whose presence in the home had been benediction and whose word had brought from Jehovah the blessing of the boy who now lies cold in death. There is a splendid audacity in the words with which the mother protests against what seems an outrage of Providence: "Did I desire a son of my lord? Did I not say, Do not deceive me?" And yet there was great trust in the heart back of the rebellious speech; she refuses to deal with the time-serving, mercenary Gehazi, no healing influence flows from his shallow soul, and she falls at the feet of the prophet, crying, "As Jehovah liveth, and as my soul liveth, I will not leave thee." The spirit of Elijah's God rests on Elisha; he has become one of those sheltering lives to whose shadow of sympathy and magnetic energy the weak and helpless instinctively flee for succor. "A man shall be a hiding place from the wind."

As there is no life-giving power in abstract principles, apart from their concrete embodiment in vivid personality, neither is there saving strength in pious institutions apart from life. The staff of Elisha was the symbol of his power. In his hands it had smote the Jordan and divided its waters; but the staff is without saving strength

apart from the prophetic presence. Nothing is more futile than to trust in forms and external observances as a means of salvation. The machinery of religion is utterly inefficient for the world's redemption; the spirit of the living creature must get into the wheels. There is no sacramental grace apart from the creative energy of the Holy Spirit. The religion of ritual cannot redeem the race. The inert staff of ceremony is everywhere being laid across the face of a dead world, and there is "neither voice nor hearing." We multiply mechanical appliances for the salvation of souls, and "the child is not awaked."

The defeat and despair, unrelieved by futile forms, is turned into triumph by the power of personality. First, the prophet lifts up his life by prayer for the transforming touch of God, and then, eyes to eyes, mouth to mouth, and palm to palm, he lends his life to the lifeless frame of the child; and the eyes that had touched the prophet's eyes open in the wonderment of new life, and the lips that had felt the pressure of his prayerful lips answer a mother's rapture of kisses, and the hands that learned life from the holy hands of the prophet are clasped about the neck of the grateful Shunammite.

"Jesus put forth his hand and touched him;" and the touch of love is still the cure for the leprosy of sin. A brilliant preacher recently defined religion as "the personal influence of God." So it is, but it is far more than that; it is also the personal influence of God-filled men and women. "Ye shall receive power" and "ye shall be witnesses," are the divine and human side of the great evangel.

Lord, speak to me, that I may speak
In living echoes of thy tone;
As thou hast sought, so let me seek
Thy erring children, lost and lone.

O, fill me with thy fullness, Lord,
Until my very heart o'erflow
In kindling thought and glowing word,
Thy love to tell, thy praise to show.

The Simplicity of Salvation

There is always some counterpoise to prosperity. Naaman, the Syrian, was superficially a most successful man; he had rank, fame, honor, wealth—*but* "he was a leper." The little captive maid in his household, who, in her slavery to a pagan prince, still held fealty to the God of her fathers, was far more fortunate than her heathen mas-

ter (2 Kings 5. 1-14). And so out of her poverty she brought to the unhappy home of luxury and power the grace of a gift which all its wealth could not win. For the best blessings of God are free; they are not listed in the market reports nor tagged with a price mark. Such is the simplicity of salvation.

It was a pompous procession that made its way from Damascus to Samaria. Doubtless the Syrian king and his afflicted captain hoped to command by splendor of equipment and rich largess the attention and service of the prophet of Jehovah. But Elisha is not dazzled by this display of proud opulence. The glittering retinue of the leprous lord receives but scant courtesy from the man who stands constantly in the awful presence of the living God. It would be wrong for us to interpret this seemingly cavalier treatment of the noble suppliant as egotistic reserve or an assumption of superiority; it is rather the self-effacement of the humble servant of Jehovah, who will keep himself out of sight and thus magnify the saving power of God alone. He will have Naaman learn that both of them, prophet and peer alike, are nothing in the presence of the one great God in whose hands alone is the power of healing.

If only this thing of being saved were more elaborate! If only God would flatter our human vanity by putting merit in mundane mechanism, and giving the glory due to his grace to our earthly effort! It would have been vastly fine, fitting the rank of the seeker and in keeping with the splendor of his cavalcade, if only the prophet would go through the forms of priestly ceremonial and give a dramatic exhibition of thaumaturgic skill. The simplicity of the gospel is still set aside by the modern paganism which seeks salvation through sacramental symbols rather than by the obedience of faith. No magic of waved hands, no charm of graceful gesture, no incantations of ceremony can cleanse our leprosy of sin; it is "not of works lest any man should boast." Our earthly streams of culture and ethical effort often flow to our blinded eyes more crystalline in their clear beauty than the turbid, tortuous Jordan of the divine appointment, but they cannot purge the foul leprosy of our lives.

When we magnify thus the grace of God in salvation, we do not thereby undervalue natural goodness. There were noble things in the nature of Naaman, and his natural nobility of character put him in the path of healing. It is significant of his native worth that he had won the affections of those who served him. Not only the little Hebrew maid in his Damascus palace, but his attendants at the

prophet's humble door delight to help him in the road to a true and simple trust. There is nothing finer anywhere than their plea: "My father, if the prophet had bid thee do some great thing, wouldst thou not have done it? How much rather, then, when he saith to thee, Wash and be clean?" The childlike hearts of humble folk frequently find the road to the gates of grace when they are closed to the sophisticated vision of the great and proud. Well for the nobler leper that he lets himself be led by the hand of a little child and the voice of faithful servants to the fountain where his flesh, corroded with the rotting touch of leprosy, turns again to the infantile freshness and sweetness of his boyhood health. So shall the simple trust of the childlike heart evermore bring us back to the moral health of the little child.

The offense of the cross is not ceased; it still refuses to flatter our self-righteousness of human means, and it continues to exalt the sovereignty of God in salvation. We dare not make man's goodness the rival of the divine sacrifice as a means of redemption. All holy souls who have found cleansing in the blood of the Lamb join in confessing:

> Nothing in my hand I bring;
> Simply to thy cross I cling;
> Naked, come to thee for dress;
> Helpless, look to thee for grace;
> Foul, I to the fountain fly;
> Wash me, Saviour, or I die!

Our Heavenly Helpers

The spiritual man is one who has annexed the unseen universe to his domain. Where the natural man sees only clouds, he beholds the chariots of the eternal; where others feel and hear the rushing winds, he realizes the charge of celestial cavalry. All high souls have possessed a keen consciousness of these invisible allies, our heavenly helpers (2 Kings 6. 8-23). When others simply saw a dove, Jesus felt the breath of the Holy Spirit; where others said, "It thundered," he heard his Father's voice. Our modern Sadduceeism is too ready to deny or rationalize the visions of a Luther or George Fox. The coarse vulgarities of tricky mediums and the ridiculous antics of tipsy tables have induced too many of us to close those divine doors through which the angelic armies march to our succor. We allow ourselves to be stampeded by supercilious denials of the supernatural. The Christianity of our age greatly needs the unsealed vision which

will give us a glimpse of the heavenly hierarchy, and reinforce our failing courage with assurance of unseen allies.

Terrible is the tyranny of the senses which enslaves the natural man. In the gray dawn of every morning it is easy enough to see our earthly enemies. The servant of Elisha is a type of the majority, who have eyes to behold only the embattled hosts of wrong. In the presence of organized vice, of social injustice, of evil intrenched in custom and human selfishness, many, very many, weak souls cry out in their dismay, "Alas, my master, what shall we do?" We are prone to pessimism when we use only our fleshly vision in making the inventory of moral forces. From the standpoint of the senses there is no trouble in ciphering out an overwhelming majority for the devil. There is a craven cowardice caused by the current of custom, a panic of popularity silencing the voice of private conscience, and a petty poltroonery of public opinion which paralyzes the faithful few who still timidly grasp the skirts of right. We constantly need the assurance of the prophetic voice, "Fear not; they that are with us are more than they that are with them."

One of the great titles given to the God of Israel is Jehovah Sabaoth, the Lord of hosts. He is conceived as the captain of a multitude of unseen soldiery filling with its files of serried strength all the depths of space. The forces of nature are conceived as the armament of these hosts of God. Winds are their steeds, clouds their chariots, and lightnings their drawn and flashing swords. This sublime conception of Holy Scripture warrants every good man in claiming alliance with all the powers of the visible universe as well as with the unseen company of celestial soldiers. "They fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera."

> **Even so doth God protect us, if we be**
> **Virtuous and wise. Winds blow and waters roll**
> **Strength to the brave and power and Deity.**

All the energies of the universe are in league with right. "Fire and hail, snow and vapor, stormy wind fulfilling his word" are but the arsenal of the angelic armies. And so the wise Wordsworth, in still another great sonnet, assures the captive chieftain:

> **Live and take comfort. Thou hast left behind**
> **Powers that will work for thee—air, earth, and skies;**
> **There's not a breathing of the common wind**
> **That will forget thee; thou hast great allies,**

Against the mocking of man faith dares to set the might of God, and against the embattled forces of wrong we only need to call the angels in.

This invisibility of our heavenly helpers is at once the strength and weakness of the holy cause. The seeming unreality of spiritual facts gives a reckless courage to the enemies of right. Men say and do things against God and his truth which they would not dare to do or say with eyes opened to see the shining ranks of seraphim. Yet this is also the security of the righteous cause. Its enemies can never discover its real sources of strength. The carnal weapons of sin and selfishness are impotent against the unseen power of spiritual personalities. One might as well send a battleship with fourteen-inch guns to stop the blowing of the west wind and check the coming of the springtime, as for all the powers of earthly evil to check the onward march of truth and right. God still, as when Elisha prayed, will send the double miracle, the opened eyes which shall reassure his faint-hearted followers, and the blind delusion which shall confuse the purposes and plans of his enemy and ours. "They shall be ashamed and confounded, all of them; but Israel shall be saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation; ye shall never be ashamed nor confounded, world without end."

Defeat Through Drunkenness

(Now that the Eighteenth Amendment is in force, shall preachers cease to preach temperance sermons? By no means; for the opponents of prohibition are active in the most vicious propaganda they have ever promoted. It is not enough to urge the enforcement of law as a patriotic duty; we must persist in publicity for the cause of temperance, not only on moral and religious grounds, but in the interest of industrial efficiency and national strength. Hence, there is herewith included in the House of the Interpreter a study of an ancient historical incident which has meanings for our age.)

Isaiah, of Jerusalem, describes the demon of drink as a "cart rope iniquity," which drags after it every description of public and private doom. In terrific hyperbole he asserts the ravages wrought by this vice to be so terrible as to necessitate larger accommodations in hell. The fifth chapter of Isaiah is one of the most tremendous temperance documents ever issued. The crusade against this accursed traffic is as old as human history. Alcohol has always been recognized

by true statesmanship as the assassin of nations. In the twentieth chapter of the first book of Kings is a striking story of how drunkenness lost the day for a mighty invading army which held an almost assured victory in its hands.

The forces led by Ben-hadad of Syria were overwhelmingly superior to the strength of the army of Israel. With him were associated thirty-two feudatory princes and their allied armies. Triumph seemed certain. Ahab, commonly courageous, is so completely cowed as to consent to degrading conditions of peace. Flushed with insolent pride, the invading conqueror raises the terms of surrender beyond all measure of endurance. At last the worm turns; Ahab and his people will yield no farther, and are compelled by decent personal and national self-respect to accept the unequal combat. Ben-hadad and his thirty-two royal generals proceed to celebrate their victory in advance by a drinking bout in the pitched pavilions of war. That hour of debauchery decided the doom of the day. The thirty-three royal revelers are no match in generalship for Ahab and his little band, led by the flower of the youth of Samaria, who utterly rout the invading hosts in the name of the God of Israel.

First among the forces which led to this marvelous deliverance was the confident counsel of a prophet of Jehovah. The truest defense of any state is in these strong spokesmen for God who bring against the visible strength of wrong the unseen might of the divine righteousness. More than all armaments of war the brave souls of God's witnesses are the bulwarks of a nation. Was this nameless prophet justified in tendering his advice at this crisis? By what right does a preacher proclaim a political opinion? When shall we learn that our religion must be applied or it is denied? It is more than a system of spiritual truth; it must be a social service. The wicked world despises with good reason a religion that sings "Rescue the perishing" within holy walls and calmly lets the souls and bodies of men be sucked hellward by the whirlpools of organized vice. The need of every age is the insistent prophetic voice with its calm confidence in right and its courageous counsel in the crisis of a nation's need.

Second in the sources of succor in this emergency was a body of drilled and disciplined youth who led the van of the attack on the drunken host. Intemperance thus far has been triumphant in its inroads upon society. The men of the past have failed to stay its awful progress; the people of the present seem too cowardly of conscience and too weak of will to destroy this destructive dragon; it is

to the young that we must commit the stainless flag of temperance if we are to make a clean sweep of this defiant enemy of God and destroyer of the souls of men. God gives us in every new generation a fresh chance to save the world. The senseless vices which now breed crime and disorder in society, poison the fountains of political power, and defy the militant armies of our Christ, will be put to disgraceful and total rout when confronted with a sober and serious youth, trained to love of goodness and loyalty to God.

"America First!" is the selfish slogan of some cheap politicians, who have not the faintest conception of what real Americanism is. America will be first, not only in moral strength but in economic efficiency, when she has eliminated the vices which have sapped the vital energy of mankind again and again in the past. The sanest minds in England and Europe are beginning to realize this truth.

In the gallery of the Luxembourg at Paris hangs one of the great modern paintings of the world—Couture's "Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans." It is a picture of a lordly hall whose every line is typical of that solemn magnificence which marked the primitive Latin character. About the walls stand the stately statues of the heroic ancestors of the house, the stern, strong men who laid the foundations of the Roman republic. But the body of the hall is filled with a host of banqueters, their descendants, engaged in the wildest license of riot and revelry. One young scapegrace in his mad folly is seen trying to press a glass of wine to the marble lips of the statue of his grandfather. The picture is a parable of the common peril of all civilizations. The real enemies of a nation are not its foreign foes but its social sins. The real rescue must come from inspired, prophetic leadership and the training of its youth for worthy citizenship.

THE ARENA

FROM THE CONFESSIONS OF A BOOKWORM

Books should be storage batteries, vehicles of power. But alas! most of them are "dead" the day they leave the printer's shop, and the majority of those who have some "charge" at that time have to be discarded soon after, usually without hope of resurrection in a second edition "revised and corrected." "To make a book is less than nothing if the book does not remake people," said a witty Italian poet.

A few books survive: centuries cannot extinguish their fire; nay, the power of some increases through the ages: the "charge" had been inexhaustible.

Of the hundreds of books that I have picked up for amusement, instruction, and inspiration not more than a dozen have really "remade" me, being either like the fire that heats the iron to a red-hot glow or like the hammer that pounds it into shape over the anvil. Among them, five represent the mileposts of my inner life, each one marking at one time an end and a beginning.

1. As far back as I can remember I was impressed by the miseries of human life, although I was deprived of nothing that contributes to our happiness. What is man in this crushing immensity of the universe? What is life? why is it given to us if a curse, why is it taken from us if a blessing? These eternal riddles that not even my faith in God could solve weighed heavily upon my adolescent mind. My despair found in Giacomo Leopardi, the sublime poet of pessimism, a matchless expression. I mourned with him over the cruel untimely death of Silvia, who passed away before winter without seeing the springtime of her life; like the Shepherd wandering in Asia I asked, under the clear nightly sky, "What doest thou, Moon in the sky? Tell me, what doest thou, O silent Moon?" and like the poet seated on the hill top, I would dream of *the infinite* and feel, with keen delight, my soul drowning itself in the endless immensity of space.

2. Shakespeare's Hamlet put an end to my longing for the peace and silence of Nirvana. It is sometimes claimed that Hamlet was a man of decision and action simulating insanity; but to me, when I saw the play on the stage, he impersonated the passive inertia resulting from doubt. He made me realize the futility of my melancholic despair; I awoke from my dreams, shuddering at the thought of the wasted life that lay before me if its motto were to be, as in the past, the pernicious "Vanity of vanities; all is vanity." I ceased to prefer the peace of the grave to the battle of life; "To be or not to be" was answered affirmatively, and the specter of suicide haunted me no more.

2. I had found energy, but I had no aim in life. The Sermon on the Mount gave me my task: *service based on character.* Of all possible professions, the Christian ministry seemed to me the noblest and most exacting of all. I felt called to it and obeyed. The terrific tragedy that in Ibsen's Brand follows such a decision as I had made, only strengthened my determination. That titanic Brand, who (clinging with iron will to his firm resolve to do God's will whatever the consequences may be) sacrifices his career, permits the death of his only child, breaks the heart of his wife and lastly perishes, forsaken of all, in the avalanche, challenged my youthful enthusiasm for a heroic task: *per aspera ad astra.*

4. Then came the happy years of theological preparation. With naïve optimism I expected to find in theology and metaphysics the solution of the riddles of the universe. But it did not take me very long to see that those admirable logical systems of philosophy were mere castles in the air, and their architects (like Socrates, in the caustic but

undeserved caricature of Aristophanes) were sitting on clouds without knowing it.

Is it not a common fault of Darwinism (*à la* Haeckel) and the usual doctrinal expositions that their authors know too much? While the first seem to have witnessed the birth of the primeval living cell and have enjoyed the personal acquaintance with Mr. Pithecanthropus Erectus, the latter can remember when breath was blown into the nostrils of a statue of clay.

My disappointment was compensated by the discovery of the *Evolution Créatrice* of Henry Bergson. In its marvelous pages the beauty of the French fascinated me just as much as the novelty, lucidity, and triumphant vitality of his thought. Reason's realm is solidity, its triumph, in geometry; only intuition can grasp mobility; while intuition follows the direction of life, reason goes in the opposite direction and is regulated on the movement of matter (p. 289). "The history of philosophy shows how impossible it is to insert reality into those ready-to-wear suits called concepts, and how necessary it is to make each suit to order" (page 52, abridged).

5. Another discovery: The Book of Job. I labored through its difficult Hebrew, I struggled with those sections that have come down to us hopelessly corrupt, I waded through German scholarship *ad hoc*, being amply compensated by the thrilling joy of finding myself in it:

my Leopardian contempt of life in the doleful elegy of chapter three;

my Hamletic incertitude in the futile debate between Job and his friends, a duel between truth and dogma where neither peace nor victory is possible:

> Oh East is East and West is West,
> And never the twain shall meet.

unreserved acceptance of the stern duties of self-control and self-sacrifice (without Brand's grim harshness and severity) in chapter thirty-one;

and, lastly, victorious intuition showing to Job God's love at work in the world (after all efforts of reason to solve the problem of theodicy have failed) in chapter thirty-nine:

> O yet we trust that somehow good
> Will be the final goal of ill.—Tennyson.

These books do I especially cherish as true and faithful friends. Their company is to me Rabindranath Tagore's Heaven of Freedom,

> Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
> Where knowledge is free;
> Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
> Where words come out from the depths of truth;
> Where tireless striving stretches its arms toward perfection;
> . . . . . .
> Where the mind is led forward by Thee into everwidening thought and action.

R. H. Pf.

Cambridge, Mass.

PREACHING AND PAGANISM

THE Lyman Beecher Lectureship on Preaching at Yale University has commanded the services of a dazzling array of brilliant minds. It has become the expression of the moral enthusiasm and the spiritual insight of men whose passion for reality gave far-flung power to their words.

It is not too much to say that no volume of the whole series is characterized by greater mental power and ethical insight and spiritual understanding than Professor Albert Parker Fitch's Preaching and Paganism, delivered in the university year 1919–1920. Professor Fitch holds the Chair of History of Religion in Amherst College. Other writing from his pen has revealed his capacity for swift and sudden sword-play, the flash of his darting insight, the wealth of his erudition, the richness of sympathy with which he approaches every contemporary current of thought, and the high and passionate seriousness which turns the scholar, the thinker, and the essayist into the prophet.

Preaching and Paganism represents the profoundest insights of Dr. Fitch's mind. It is a masterpiece of keen and incisive diagnosis. It is a living word about the eternal meanings of religion. Probably no book about religion published in America within the last dozen years touches it in significance. The man with a broad-church mind, with certain definite high-church sympathies, with a fresh and glowing sense of the evangel, and with a hearty appreciation of all those flowers of mind and spirit which grow in gardens consecrated by no ecclesiastical benediction, speaks in the whole volume. And in it religion as moral discipline and moral and spiritual deliverance speaks with a note of noble mastery. Professor Fitch is at home in every type of modern mind. He is at home in the past of human thinking and human striving. He speaks to the age with the ages as the background of his thought. The secret of a renaissance of evangelical religion is in this book, and it is the rebirth of an evangel enriched and humanized and passed forth in the glory of a noble and adequate worship.

To be sure one disagrees with Professor Fitch once and again; that is the price he pays for saying such vigorously brilliant things about a thousand subjects. But the whole movement of the book is like the ample forward sweeps of a great river, and this river is bringing the richness of wide lying hills and valleys to the City of God.

Detroit, Michigan. LYNN HAROLD HOUGH.

THE FETISH OF "ORDERS"

ON re-reading in the January–February number of the REVIEW the article by Dr. Tucker and the communication by Dr. Faulkner, I was moved to take a little look into church history for myself, especially concerning the distinctions between the laity and the clergy and the basis for the reputed "historic Episcopate." On looking up the resources of my own library on the subject I found that practically all the writers

whose books were on my shelves were devotees and defenders of the idea of an historic episcopate. I thought, therefore, that I would go back of these defenders of "orders" in the ministry and see if the idea of the historic episcopate and the doctrine of "orders" were really a New Testament conception. Accordingly I took my exhaustive concordance, determined to devote a morning to a study and analysis of the scriptural basis for them. I, as a loyal Methodist preacher, had taken the matter of two orders and an office as certainly scriptural in basis at least. But now I would see for myself and examine the New Testament basis for these traditions of the Christian Church. I expected, of course, a considerable array of facts and scripture to furnish a substantial basis for these ideas of church organization and government.

What was my surprise, when, on running my eye over the concordance for the words bishop, deacon, and elder, to discover that it was not a morning's work, but merely the work of a few minutes to exhaust the concordance on these terms. They appear scarcely more than a dozen times where their reference is unequivocal. It is not to be imagined for a minute that I think the references in which these words appear are all the Scripture which may be cited in support of the notion of orders in the ministry, nor even of the so-called historic episcopate, but these are the only occurrences of the terms upon which the theory of ministerial orders is built.

To save the reader's time I will quote the ten or twelve passages in which the words are used as referring to church organization. They are as follows:

Phil. 1. 1: "Paul and Timothy, servants of Christ Jesus, to all the saints in Christ Jesus that are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons."

1 Tim. 3. 1, 2, 8, 10, 12, 13: "If a man seeketh the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work. The bishop . . . must be without reproach," etc. . . . "Deacons in like manner must be grave," etc. "And let these also first be proved; then let them serve as deacons, if they be blameless." "Let deacons be husbands of one wife." "For they that have served well as deacons gain to themselves a good standing," etc.

1 Tim. 5. 17, 19: "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor." etc. "Against an elder receive not an accusation, except at the mouth of two or three witnesses."

Titus 1. 5, 7: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that were wanting, and appoint elders in every city, as I gave thee charge." "For the bishop must be blameless," etc.

1 Pet. 5. 1: "The elders therefore among you I exhort, who am a fellow-elder."

With these passages before us we may notice several significant things:

First, deacons, elders, and bishops were all officers in local churches. It does not appear that they were anything but laymen as we understand the term. None of them as such, that is, by virtue of their office, had supervision or authority outside of the local organization.

Second, elders and bishops seem to have been one and the same thing. The terms are interchangeable, while deacon seems to be distinct from the others, but of very indefinite signification. Certainly there is nothing here to warrant the separation of the two into distinct orders.

Third, they were not clergymen in the modern or accepted sense of the term. The distinction between the sacred and the secular had not yet been projected upon the world, nor were there any distinctions between lay and clerical functions in the church.

In addition to these particular observations it may be noted that, so far as the New Testament is concerned, it knew absolutely nothing of the episcopate as a clerical order. It is a fiction, the outgrowth and development of the traditions of centuries, culminating in the paganized forms of the Roman Catholic Church. We Methodist Episcopalians inherited the idea from Romanism, through Anglicanism.

Lastly, as Dr. Faulkner has so clearly pointed out, the "Historic Episcopate," instead of being a basis of the organic unity of Christendom, is the insurmountable barrier between Romanist and Anglican, and it is that which divides us dissenters from both. There is no hope of organic union except on the basis of a democratized church in which the layman is restored to the privileges from which he has been excluded these centuries by the unwarranted and unscriptural assumptions of a so-called reverend clergy. It is high time for Methodism to have done with aping aristocratic Anglicanism, as well as hierarchical and pagan Romanism. The general superintendency has approved itself to the church as an efficient and effective form of church organization, but the episcopate is an unscriptural inheritance from Romanism that should be relegated to the scrap heap along with papal infallibility and all the rest of our Romish inheritance. What the church needs to-day is a democracy of privilege, power, and responsibility. Let us begin by admitting the laymen to the Annual Conferences and then go on unto perfection like good Methodists, by abandoning the fetish of "Orders" and calling our laymen into all the offices for which they, or any of them, show ability and leadership, including the General Superintendency.

Van Wert, Ohio. DANIEL MCGURK.

THE GREATEST THEOLOGIAN SINCE HODGE

WOULD you allow me a few lines to speak of an eminent member of a sister church, who was at the same time an eminent servant of our common Christianity, Dr. Benjamin B. Warfield, who has just passed away at the too early age of sixty-nine, after thirty-four years in the systematic theology chair in Princeton. He kept producing to the very last, his intellectual vigor as keen as ever. Three men have bridged the years 1822–1921 in one chair in that famous seminary: Charles Hodge, who, however, did not take up systematic theology with his biblical department till 1840; his son Archibald A. Hodge; and their pupil, B. B. Warfield—the three most celebrated teachers of the Reformed theology in America, if not in the world. We often joke at Princeton's conservatism; but it must be remembered that outside of the Five Points, and the one doctrine of Christian Perfection or Perfect Love, these men represented the dearest convictions of our Methodist fathers. On fundamental Christianity they

stood with us, and it would be a singular evolution if the very "liberal" trend of present-day thinking should end by making Princeton the bulwark of the faith our fathers lived and died for.

Dr. Warfield was at home in German, French, and Dutch theology, and thus knew all the "advanced" thinkers, but knowing them knew also much more, and thus remained faithful to the faith of Christ and Paul, as he understood it. Besides a world-wide reputation in systematic theology, he was an expert in Greek New Testament criticism and text, and a thorough student of church history, on which he has written with scholarly enthusiasm. He was also a poet, a fine preacher, a man of kind, courteous, and beautiful spirit, and those who knew him well will recall his devotion to his invalid wife, who went before him into the Better Land. His brother was president of Lafayette College, and is now President of Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa.

JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER.

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SERMONS AS READING MATTER FOR PREACHERS

WITHOUT a doubt the minister who fails to familiarize himself with the sermonic literature of his own and other generations is neglecting one of the most helpful means for the increasing of his power as a preacher of the living Word. I have been told how, about a quarter of a century ago, the faculty of a certain small theological seminary used to reiterate the advice that their students should under no circumstances read sermons because contact with the homiletical productions of other men would interfere with their own originality. Before paying my respects to this objection I shall discuss the question from the affirmative point of view.

I need not, I believe, advance any arguments in behalf of the idea that the preacher should be a reading man. Not every man of wide reading makes a good preacher. But, on the other hand, the man who can without both intensive and extensive reading prepare a hundred vital, helpful discourses a year is a genius in no small way. I do not claim that this type of an effective preacher does not exist, but I have yet to meet its first representative. No one can deny that the great source of sermonic material is life itself. The spiritual needs of a people furnish a real pastor the basis of most of his sermons. But the man who does not supplement his own experience with that recorded upon the pages of good books lives a life of little horizons and circumscribed interests. In general it is true that an empty library means an empty mind. As Charles E. Jefferson has sententiously said: "The largest reservoir in time becomes empty if a constant stream flows out, and no compensating stream flows in." He who does not read is dooming himself, and also his congregation, to travel the same beaten path Sunday after Sunday.

It might be sufficient to say that sermons should be read for exactly the same reasons that might be given for the perusal of any other good litera-

ture. It was Washington Gladden who wisely observed: "I maintain that good sermons may be and ought to be good literature; that the free, direct, conversational handling of a theme in the presence of an audience makes good reading in a book." But the general argument in behalf of the value of contact with the great masters of literature can, in regard to the preacher's reading of sermons, be reenforced with other truths just as cogent. In Booth Tarkington's Conquest of Canaan we read of an old artist who cherished a lifetime hope to get to Paris in order to "see how the other fellows do it." Is there not something to be said along these lines in behalf of the idea that a preacher, or prospective preacher, should familiarize himself with many examples of how other men have told to "waiting congregations" the truths of God? A man cannot do effective work without models. How then will the individual who never reads sermons secure his ideas in regard to the construction of homiletical discourses?

Some one may answer, "Through the sermons which he hears." A few words from Oliver Wendell Holmes may be quoted here with some appropriateness: "The clergy, however, rarely hear any sermons except what they preach themselves. A dull preacher might be conceived, therefore, to lapse into a state of quasi heathenism simply for want of religious instruction." But with all possible seriousness it can be stated without fear of contradiction that to hope for an adequate homiletical education through the discourses which an individual hears would be the epitome of futility. After a man gets into the swing of his work he listens to relatively few sermons. Of course, during his seminary and college and precollegiate days he has some opportunities along these lines. But if one who has been in the ministry for ten or twenty years depends for his sermonic education on the preaching which he heard in his youth, supplemented by the half dozen sermons to which he listens during his vacation, he will not keep step with the march of progress. Sermons, like everything else, must be adapted to the needs of the times. Neither the oratory of Daniel Webster nor the preaching of Henry Ward Beecher would be the most nourishing pabulum for us of the twentieth century.

At the best a limited knowledge of homiletical methods cannot help be productive of poor preaching. In his latest volume, The Pulpit and American Life, Professor Arthur S. Hoyt emphasizes the indubitable fact that there has been no decadence, either intellectual or spiritual, in our modern preaching. We have, nevertheless, by no means attained such an ideal state that every hearer can be absolutely certain that he is a listener to model preaching. Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin in his Lyman Beecher lectures for 1918 makes the following statement: "Much of our preaching is like the conversation of Dickens's Mr. Plornish, 'a little obscure but conscientiously emphatic.' The recipe for compounding many a current sermon might be written: 'Take a teaspoonful of weak thought, add water, and serve.' The fact that it is frequently served hot may enable the concoction to warm the hearers and make them, as they express it, 'feel good!' It may, while the stimulus lasts, nerve them to do good, but it cannot be called nourishing." Woe betide the embryo

preacher who is unfortunate in his model, unless through reading he widens his range of homiletical inspiration! If, in addition to the inevitable handicap of limited contacts, the person who for his sermonic ideals depends entirely upon his hearing, is unfortunate enough to have poor models, he will be very likely in his sermons to perpetuate the defects of the discourses which he has heard. Without a knowledge of sermonic literature no man can be called educated in reference to matters homiletic.

There are, it is true, numerous excellent books in this field. With these the preacher cannot be too familiar. Books dealing with the different phases of sermon-making and delivery are of inestimable value. But theory cannot be effective without examples. There was a time when we believed that we were teaching a student to write effective English, if we had him learn a varied array of rules. But within recent years much stress has been laid by experts in the field of English Composition upon the necessity of the student's becoming acquainted with specimens illustrating the different types of well-written modern prose. For example, a beginning writer develops certain stylistic characteristics by the careful study of authors possessing that particular kind of literary skill. This method is rather new educationally, but practically it is old. It was exactly in this way that Franklin taught himself to write. In the developing of his consummate power of expression Robert Louis Stevenson used the same method. Teachers of English are unanimous in the opinion that a person cannot rise above the dead level of commonplaceness in the art of writing, unless he has read widely and well. And his excellence in any form of composition will vary in proportion to the amount of reading which he has done in that particular field.

I am now ready to deal with the objection that the perusal of sermons impedes original thinking. I have never heard of architects refusing to inspect a building for fear of stealing ideas from some one else in the same profession. A civil engineer planning a piece of constructive work loses no opportunity to examine other "jobs" of the same nature. Poets are not forbidden to read poetry. To advise a young editorial writer to read no editorials except those written by himself would sound inordinately silly. A literary critic would not add to his usefulness if he ignored what others had said. Originality which has to be kept under glass in order to be preserved may as well be allowed to perish from the earth with all possible rapidity. From the very nature of things it is utterly worthless. "The greatest genius," says Emerson, "most indebted man." No man can be without debt to both his predecessors and his contemporaries. The task of the preacher is not to make a display of his own originality, but it is rather to say the word which will be of help to struggling, tempest-tossed men and women. The man who cannot read sermons for fear of stealing them has no place in the Christian ministry. Literary theft is as bad as any other kind of robbery. The man who keeps his intellectual fires burning, who does not fritter away his time with inconsequentialities need not be afraid of losing the power to think for himself. I see no reason whatever for the rehash in the twentieth cen-

tury of the bromidical superstition that the reading of sermons should not be a part of the preacher's education.

Of good material for the reader of sermonic literature there is no end. Among the giants of other days might be mentioned South, Jeremy Taylor, Edwards, Wesley, and Robertson. But perhaps as a general rule the moderns are the more fruitful to readers of to-day. Henry Ward Beecher, king of American pulpiteers, has left us hundreds of the eloquent discourses which thrilled the men and women of his generation. Without the charm and force of the dynamic personality of the great preacher behind them they are for the most part somewhat uninspiring reading, but they cannot be ignored by him who would be a real student of the history of preaching. It might not be too much to say that to-day in the whole range of homiletic literature the preacher whose sermons furnish the most illuminating, deepening, and broadening reading is Phillips Brooks. Among the American preachers he has been indeed a herald of a new day. It would be my judgment that no other volumes of sermons have sold so largely for so long a period of time as those of this New England bishop of rich personality and Spirit-filled life. The sermons of W. L. Watkinson, the Nestor of English Wesleyans, are of the highest type and are worthy of their wide popularity. A trio of sons of the land of the bluebell and heather, consisting of Morrison of Glasgow, John Kelman, now of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church and Hugh Black of Union Seminary, produce books of sermons which can be bought with confidence and read with profit. Dr. Jowett, whose return to England was America's loss, can be placed in a class with that other outstanding expository preacher, Alexander Maclaren. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst has published little, but to read one of his sermons is a real lesson in homiletics. Among others whose volumes rank with the best are Henry Sloan Coffin, Charles E. Jefferson, and Dean Brown of the Yale Divinity School. The two "Methodist Pulpit" series were brought out several years ago, but they contain a number of volumes the reading of which will make better men and better preachers.

Very frequently it is the custom for preachers to change their sermons into essay form before publishing them. There is a wealth of excellent reading matter of this class. The little volumes by Harry E. Fosdick have been widely and carefully read. Newell Dwight Hillis, successor of Henry Ward Beecher and Lyman Abbott as pastor of Plymouth Church, in his earlier volumes has given us brilliant material, expressed with consummate rhetorical skill. Washington Gladden, recently deceased, and Lyman Abbott, now more than fourscore years of age, have written numerous thoughtful volumes, sometimes in sermon form and more often not, which are still highly worth reading. Bishop Francis J. McConnell has published several volumes of lectures and discussions. No man has his finger more surely upon the pulse of modern thought than Bishop McConnell. Through the reading of his works a man could obtain a fairly good theologocial education. Other interpreters of the signs of the times are Lynn Harold Hough, President King of Oberlin, and George A. Gordon of the Old South Church of Boston. In the field of

the sermon essay could be mentioned Bishop Quayle, preacher-poet and poet-preacher, George Clarke Peck, vital and suggestive, typical of the best in Methodism, John Brierly, an Englishman, who for almost a generation preached the gospel in his felicitous and spiritually illuminating essays, and Boreham, the New Zealand Baptist, whose fount of inspiration appears to be inexhaustible. But in these days of making of many books it would be futile to attempt to mention all of the makers of religious books. Suffice it to say that no seeker for light and truth and inspiration need, in our day, lack guidance.

I am not contending, however, that the sermon should constitute the major part of a clergyman's reading. There are other realms of literature which are at least of equal value to him. The minister who reads simply to search for matter for his sermons is living a starved life intellectually. The best reading for any man is that which will broaden and deepen his personality and stimulate his thought life in general. But there is considerable sermonic material which will measure up to any literary test.

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BIBLICAL RESEARCH

PAUL AT ATHENS: DID HE FAIL THERE?

PAUL'S visit to Athens was an accident in his career. His friends had hurried him quickly from Berœa when the Jews who had caused such an uproar at Thessalonica created a disturbance at Berœa also. He came to Athens to wait until the storm blew over and until conditions were calmer, definitely intending to resume the work in Macedonia, in which he was so keenly interested, and in which he had had such a great measure of success.

It seems strange and inexplicable that this world-renowned university city did not exercise the same magnetic power on Paul that Rome did. The church to-day, like Paul, is drawn towards what Rome represents, politics, world affairs, and is in danger of neglecting what Athens stands for, art, poetry, drama, and philosophy. Both must have their due place in the program of the church of Christ, because it is only under her ægis that the forces which the two cities represent can attain their highest and best service for mankind.

The Athens to which Paul came had lost much of its commercial and political preeminence, but it was still unrivaled for its magnificent buildings, still the great world university center, still "the home of philosophy, the shrine of art and the fountain-head of ideals." Plutarch, in his most interesting life of Pericles, written many years after Paul's visit to Athens, says of its beautiful buildings, "In beauty each of them appeared venerable as soon as built, but even at present the work looks as fresh as ever, for they bloom with an eternal freshness and make the

work instinct with an unfading spirit of youth"; but, though the city was outwardly beautiful, within there were ugliness and decay, for the people lived on the glories of the past and followed the cults of beauty and philosophy by divorcing them, unlike their fathers, from all noble achievements and heroic exploits.

How Paul spent his short stay of a month's duration in the city we cannot tell, except what we are told in the accounts in the Acts. It is difficult to account for the fact that Paul makes no reference at all to the things which have made Athens famous for ever. Dr. Conybeare, in his article on "Athens" in the Hastings Dictionary, thinks that he would visit the famous sites and that he probably saw a play of Euripides or Menander!

Was Paul's ministry at Athens a failure? The majority of divines who have commented on the incident emphatically conclude that it was so. David Smith, in his recent Life and Letters of St. Paul, says that "Athens was no longer endurable. . . . one reason being the shame of his ignominious failure, aggravated by bitter self-reproach. In his speech before the Council he had committed what he now realized as a fatal error. His mind had been corrupted from its simplicity towards Christ and had attempted to meet philosophy with philosophy and win his hearers by persuasive words of wisdom. It had proved a disastrous failure and he determined that he would never repeat it." Such statements are entirely unwarranted and unjustified by the evidence. The fact that Paul, in writing to the Corinthians, said that it was "in weakness and fear and much trembling that I visited you; what I said, what I preached did not rest on the plausible arguments of wisdom, but on the proof supplied by the Spirit and its power," (Moffatt) does not justify any one in saying that Paul's speech on the Areopagus was a piece of special pleading, or that he, in conversing with the crowd in the market place, resorted to specious dialectic. Is it likely that a man who, shortly before entering Athens, had written in his letter to the Galatians (assuming, with Prof. C. H. Turner, Dr. Sanday's successor, and many others, that Galatians was Paul's first extant letter, and was written about 49 A. D., while the visit to Athens took place in A. D. 51) such glowing passages as "I have been crucified with Christ, and it is no longer I who live, Christ lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me"; and again, "In those days when you were ignorant, you were in servitude to gods who are really no gods at all; but now that you know God—or rather are known by God—how is it you are turning back to the weak and beggarly rudiments? Why do you want to be enslaved again?" or that remarkable ending "but no boasting for me, none except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ by which the world has been crucified to me and I crucified to the world; for what counts is neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, it is the new creation; let no one interfere with me after this, for I bear branded in my body the owner's stamp of Jesus"—is it likely that he should have deviated from these bed-rock principles?

Paul in the synagogue at Athens would follow presumably the same

course that he followed at Thessalonica, for there we are told that he argued for three Sabbaths with them, explaining and quoting passages to prove that the Messiah had to suffer, rose from the dead, and that the Jesus proclaimed by Paul was the Messiah. In the synagogue at any rate Paul would not resort to philosophy. In the market place before the philosophers and people assembled there he preached "Jesus and the Resurrection." *Jesus*, note, not the Christ that had been the theme in the synagogue. Stoic and Epicurean would not be interested in the doctrine of the Messiah; but Paul thought they would be interested in the personality of Jesus, and so dealt with some of the signal features of his character and career, passing on to tell about his death and resurrection, for he could not very well deal with the latter without mentioning the former. In the market place then Paul did not "meet philosophy with philosophy," but told the simple message of the gospel. But now what of his speech before the Council of the Areopagus? How fitting and appropriate that Paul should begin his address by commenting on the inscription he had read on one of the altars on his way to Athens, "To an unknown God." Does he not reveal in so doing the true missionary method, which consists in discovering the incipient good in the faith of a people in order to find a point of contact? "This God, unknown to them," Paul goes on to claim, "is well known to us, for he is the Lord of heaven and earth." To a people like the Athenians, who prided themselves on their magnificent temples and on the elaborate rites carried on in them for the glory of the gods, Paul felt it necessary to say that this God did not dwell in temples made with hands, neither was worshiped by men's hands as though he needed anything, seeing that He gave to all life and breath and all things. Or again, when we remember how proud the Athenian was of his race and its achievements, it was necessary that he should be reminded that God had made of one blood *every nation* to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons and the bounds of their habitations. "That they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us. For in him we live and move and have our being."

Again when we realize how the noblest and best representations of the gods in marble, gold, and silver are liable to make people think, as the Athenians did, that the gods are subject to like passions and weaknesses as men, it is only right that Paul should warn the Athenians that since they are the offspring of God they ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver or stone graven by art or man's devices.

Paul felt that right conceptions of God are an essential part of a true gospel. When he had delivered his mind of his thoughts of God he passed on to deal with the need of repentance and the reality of judgment and the resurrection of Christ. But when he begins to deal with these great elements in his gospel the Athenians refuse to listen, saying, "We will hear thee again of this matter." Would not a modern missionary in Cairo or Benares follow this noble model set for us by Paul in Athens? It is surely not just to Paul to say that he used philosophy

either in the synagogue or market place, or even before the great council of the Areopagus.

Let us finally view the incident from the standpoint of results. Luke tells us that some men did join him and believe, including Dionysius the Areopagite—one of the members of the august council, a man of influence and prominence—and a woman called Damaris, who, David Smith thinks from the name, belonged to the class of courtesans. Was it possible that a woman of her class was won to Christ by philosophy? Frederick W. Myers, in his great poem "St. Paul," did not think so, and his stanzas dealing with Paul at Athens and with Damaris are worthy of quotation:

> Aye and ere now, above the shining city,
> Full of all knowledge and a God unknown,
> Stood I and spake, and passion of my pity
> Drew him from heaven and showed him to his own.
>
> Heard ye of her who faint beneath the burden
> Strained to the cross and in its shadow fell?
> Love for a love, the angels' for the earthen,
> Lord and Redeemer, surely it was well!

Then F. W. Myers tells the story of Damaris and how she "shrank by the loathly olives of the garden and the groves of a teacher and the Illissus' stream" until she came to the temple but found no satisfaction:

> Looked to Hymettus and the purple heather,
> Looked to Peiræus and the purple sea,
> Blending of waters and of winds together,
> Winds that were wild and waters that were free.
>
> So from the soft air, infinite and pearly,
> Breathed a desire with which she could not cope,
> Could not, methinks, so eager and so early
> Chant to her loveliness the dirge of hope:
>
> Therefore with set face and with smiling bitter
> Took she the anguish, carried it apart,—
> Ah, to what friend to speak it? it were fitter
> Thrust in the aching hollows of her heart.
>
> Then preached I Christ: and when she heard the story,—
> Oh, is such triumph possible to men?—
> Never, my King, had I beheld thy glory,
> Never had known thine excellence till then.

To Dionysius and Damaris and the many others must be added Stephanas and his household, "the first fruits of Achaia," probably a Corinthian who chanced to be in Athens when Paul was there. Let us assume that the converts numbered twelve in all. Surely such a result, after a month's evangelizing, is not a sign of failure. A modern mis-

sionary in the great centers of Hinduism or Mohammedanism would count his work highly successful if after one month he could win to Christ a leading Mohammedan or Hindu official with several others. To us Paul's mistake lay in the fact that he left Athens when he was beginning to make an impression on the people. Had his illness anything to do with his sudden departure? Or is it possible that Paul felt that "one whose bodily presence was weak and whose delivery was beneath contempt" was not the one to preach the gospel to a people like the Athenians, who laid such stress on beauty of form and person on the one hand and on oratory and eloquence on the other. Whatever the cause of his departure, Paul while in the city did not meet philosophy with philosophy, nor was his work a failure.

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PRE-COPERNICAN COSMOLOGIES

Readers of the Review will recall the very interesting study by Professor Ismar J. Peritz, published in the March-April issue, on The Biblical Conception of the Function of the Firmament. It was certainly a pleasing revelation to many of us that the Semitic peoples had a more sane and sensible, as well as a somewhat more scientific cosmologic system than the childish notions attributed to them by the majority of scholars. The Babylonian universe as a world-view was as accurate an interpretation of terrestrial and celestial facts as was possible previous to Galileo and Copernicus.

This study is increasingly important in view of the fact that many of the symbols of Apocalyptic literature probably had their origin in Chaldæan cosmogonic myths.

One of the best known and honored contributors to the Methodist Review is the author of what is everywhere conceded to be the ablest discussion of this problem. We refer to Dr. William Fairfield Warren's epoch-making treatise on "The Earliest Cosmologies," published by The Methodist Book Concern. Not only the Holy Scriptures, but all ancient literature, are clarified for the student on their scientific side by this erudite work, recognized by the leading scholars of Europe and America as furnishing the most convincing picture of the world-concepts of antiquity.

Dr. Warren's learned book is not merely an abstruse investigation of the primitive *Welt-Anschauung* for scholastic purposes; it is a clear and vivid portraiture of the Foreworld, as seen by the ancients, in terms that any layman in archæological subjects can easily comprehend. Neither the Bible, nor Homer, nor the old mythologies can be clearly understood, save in this larger light. In this six hundredth year of Dante's memory there is high value for the student of that greatest of all poets in the exposition by Dr. Warren of the "world of insphered spheres" so luminously portrayed by him. No library is complete without this great book.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

RUDOLF OTTO ON "THE HOLY"

For more than one reason it is fitting that Otto's Das Heilige (The Holy) should be noticed in close connection with Heim's Glaubensgewissheit (Certainty of Faith), which was brought to the attention of our readers in the March–April issue. In the first place they are the two most original discussions that have appeared within the domain of systematic theology in the last five years or more. In the next place they have certain traits and tendencies in common, notwithstanding the fact that Otto is a decided liberal, while Heim—at least in the cardinal elements of his theology—is emphatically positive or conservative. And finally, both books are unusually readable; both are richly concrete. It need not be added that both books are thoroughly modern in their orientation.

The most important agreement between Otto and Heim is their strong emphasis upon the irrational element in religion. (It may be useful again to remind the reader that the term irrational does not imply the positive contradiction of reason; rather the meaning is extra-rational.) This agreement between thinkers differing so widely in many important matters is highly significant. It indicates a rather broad tendency of our time. Our present-day philosophy of religion is, for the most part, anything but rationalistic. Some of it is infrarationalistic, reveling in alleged biological explanations of religion. Some of it is suprarationalistic, that is, personalistic, basing religion upon the positive self-manifestation of Deity. And again, some of it holds a middle position in the matter. But there are very few who countenance anything approaching a pure rationalism.

Rudolf Otto was born in 1869. For many years he was *privatdocent* and then professor extraordinary at Göttingen. A few years ago he was called to a full professorship at Breslau, to succeed Wobbermin, who had been called to Heidelberg. Full recognition came to him rather tardily. This is to be explained in part by the singularity of his theological position. His first book of special importance was Naturalistische und religiöse Weltanschauung, which has found many grateful readers, not only in its original form but also in its English version under the title Naturalism and Religion. He published various other works of real value before he put forth the first edition of Das Heilige in 1917. This little book is now in its fifth edition (1920), which differs from the earlier editions chiefly in the addition, in an appendix, of some illustrations from the literature of religion and some essays on special points. This work of only 256 pages, including all the excerpts in the appendix, has met with enough favor to have been translated into English and Japanese. Doubtless also it was the chief reason for its author's receiving a call (which he accepted) to Marburg as successor to Wilhelm Herrmann, who was about to retire.

The full title of Otto's book is: Das Heilige. Ueber das Irrationale in

der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen (The Holy. Concerning the Irrational Element in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational). We shall attempt in all brevity to give some clear notion of the main tendency of the book.

The first chapter, entitled "Rational und Irrational," states the problem of the book with remarkable clearness. At the outset the author points out that every theistic, especially the Christian, conception of God describes the Deity by such predicates as "spirit," "reason," "purposeful will," "consciousness," etc., and these predicates are thought of in analogy to the human rational personality. At the same time these predicates are conceived of as perfect or absolute. Now all such predicates are clear *concepts*. Therefore if we choose we may call the Being, thus thinkable and thus describable, *rational*, that is objectively rational or belonging to the world of our reason; and the religion that thus acknowledges and affirms him we may call in so far a rational religion. Only in such a religion is "faith" possible in contradistinction to mere "feeling." Of Christianity, at least, it is not true, that "Feeling is everything, name is but sound and smoke." Name corresponds to concept. It is a mark of superiority in a religion that it has concepts and knowledge—knowledge of the supersensuous world. That Christianity has concepts, and has them in superior clearness, definiteness and number, is (not the sole, not even the chief, but) a very essential mark of its superiority. All this the author emphasizes at the outset. But then he proceeds to warn against the very serious error of supposing that these and other predicates that may be added could ever exhaust the nature of Deity. Valid as is the rational element in religion, it should not be put too much into the foreground. So far from exhausting the idea of the Divine, the rational predicates, while truly enough *essential* predicates, are after all only *synthetic* predicates; they are rightly understood only when understood as such, that is, are understood as pertaining to an object which they do not begin to exhaust. Otto complains at the rationalizing tendency that has prevailed so largely, even in orthodoxy. A supernaturalist may in reality be a thorough-going rationalist, for he may hold to a theory of miracle and revelation that is so "rational" as to leave nothing unexplained. Rationalism, whether of the orthodox or of the liberal type, always bears this one mark, that it finds no valid element of religion that lies beyond the province of reason; everything is to be rationally explained. Therefore it finds in its scheme of religious teaching no means of recognizing the element of the irrational. Preaching has tended too much to thrust the irrational (extra-rational) into the background and to place everything under the suspicion of lacking sanity and sobriety that could not be rationally stated and explained. If this is true of preaching, how much more of the systematic expositions of Christianity!

Otto finds that in order to do justice to the element of the irrational in religion the examination of the category of "the holy" will prove the best means. And he carries on his study in a very able manner. It shows a broad and solid historical foundation, a keen psychological analysis, and an unusual faculty for speculative construction. After

the example of Windelband he regards "the holy" as the essentially fundamental category of religion. That he holds "the holy" to be in the last analysis an ethical Personality, even the God of Jesus Christ and of Christianity appears clearly enough in the course of the discussion. But he holds that a clear personalistic conception is by no means essential to religion as such, however essential it may be to the higher development of religion.

Otto is remarkably clear in his discussion and analysis of the category of "the holy," and for the most part his conclusions are convincing. The point at which vigorous dissent will begin—and it is a very important point—is his frank assumption of the reality and validity of the self-manifestation of God outside the historical lines of the biblical religion. It is, however, clearly the author's position that only in the biblical religion, especially in Christianity, is the human intuition of the Divine relatively free from radical misconceptions. Nevertheless we find in him a plain departure from the standpoint of exclusive Christocentrism which we know to be characteristic of much conservative theology and of genuine Ritschlianism. At the same time there are in Otto some striking conservative or positive tendencies. He is, for instance, very emphatic in his repudiation of a purely naturalistic (biological or evolutionistic) explanation of morals and religion. Neither the sense of "ought" nor the consciousness of the Divine is derivable from its alleged antecedents; it is, in each instance, something "quite different." Once given, each is, as a matter of course, the subject of an evolutionary process.

Otto introduces and operates with a technical term hitherto almost, if not quite, unknown, namely, the term *das Numinose*, the numinous (based upon *numen*, "divinity," after the analogy of ominous from omen). This term is used in the closest connection with the term "the only." The relation between the two is very simply conceived: "the numinous" represents the divinity, or whatever directly pertains thereto, objectively or in itself regarded; "the holy," the divinity and whatever pertains thereto regarded as the object of our unconditional awe and reverence. The primary sense of "holy," as all know who are in any degree expert in biblical exegesis and in the history of religion, is not at all an ethical concept; "holy" is originally the designation of a feeling, namely the feeling of unconditional awe in the presence of, or in relation to, the divinity (*numen*) and all that pertains thereto. The ethical concept of "the holy" is the—inevitable and fully warranted—filling out of a concept which originally designated only an emotional reflex. In the primary sense of the term, God is "holy," not as "good" or "absolutely good," but as the object of our unlimited awe and reverence.

Our author, by the aid of history and psychology, analyzes the idea of the holy. The elements or "moments" in the idea of the holy are chiefly the following. First is the "creature feeling" as a reflex of the impression of the "numinous." There comes with this the combined feeling of mystery and fear (*mysterium tremendum*). A sense of the measureless power of the divinity and the utter mystery of its working makes the human subject seem to himself quite helpless and but dust and ashes.

The element of the mysterious, regarded apart from the element of fear, Otto continually refers to as the "sometihng quite different" (*das Ganz andere*). And then—in apparent contradiction to the element of fear—comes the element of the fascinating (*mysterium fascinosum*); though one feels "how dreadful is the place" of the presence of the divinity, yet one is held fast as by a charm. Now these are, according to Otto, the primary elements in the idea of "the holy." He illustrates his views in the aptest manner from the history of religion, yet never with a superabundance of material.

The development of the idea of holiness and its "filling out" until it has become the highest ethical concept is briefly but admirably set forth. Then follows an admirable chapter on Ausdrucksmittel des Numinosen (Means of Expressing the Numinous). First come the direct means. The sense of the numinous (the presence of the divinity) cannot be taught, it is only capable of being awakened "of the Spirit." Much in religion can be taught, but not "this background and underground." Not in the setting forth of concepts, but in mysterious ways, by the tone or the manner, do those who have a sense of the divine presence awaken it in others. And where that sense is already present, sometimes only a very slight occasion brings it to a very powerful expressing. Not by "ringing, singing, and saying," but by the *viva vox*, by the touch of personality, is the sense of the divine presence awakened. Then there are indirect means of expressing the numinous. Not as art in the stricter sense of the term are we to regard the manifold primitive representations of deity, and even some of a more developed religion. Elements of art are always present, of course, but the fundamental motive is not what we commonly understand as the artistic motive. There is something very different from the motive of expressing for others the insight one has gained into the beauties of *this our world*, when one seeks to give some hint of the terror and the mystery of that "quite other" world and its "quite different" beings. Now men have sought to represent deity in very many ways and by various media, and the means employed have been sometimes of the crudest, sometimes the most refined. Art in the proper sense of the term comes into use as a means of expressing the numinous only when the element of fear has been considerably tempered. In addition to images, pictures, and the like, a favorite means of representing or suggesting the presence of divinity is *miracle*. In Christianity the thought of impressing men by a *mere* "wonder" or "power" has no place; only as personalized and ethicized can miracle have a place in Christianity. Nevertheless nothing is so potent as miracle (whether real or only apparent) to give most men a compelling sense of the divine presence. Hence the enormous fondness for miracle with those whose religion is little ethical and spiritual.

Otto's studies of "the numinous" in the Old Testament, in the New, in Luther, etc., are very instructive. The same holds true with the discussion of "the holy as category *a priori*," and its historical expression and manifestation. The supreme manifestation of "the holy" is Jesus Christ. But when the author comes to the chapters on divination—the

possibility of divination, divination in primitive Christianity, divination in present-day Christianity—we find him in the innermost heart of his subject. Christ is the object "in whose being, life, and determination of life we ourselves spontaneously 'behold and feel' the self-revealing operation of Deity." Faith in the full Christian sense of the term is divination, that is to say, a direct beholding and feeling of the reality of God in his self-manifestation. The first disciples recognized Jesus as the Christ, the supreme manifestation of the Divine, the Holy, not by submitting to any assertions of Jesus concerning himself, but spontaneously, by divination. "Now we ourselves know that thou art Christ." But this divination is only the human side of the personal self-revelation of God.

But we must forego following the author further in these lines and will close with reference to some of the practical inferences growing out of the theory. First, the method of religious instruction must cease to be so much under the control of formal doctrine. More of mysticism must be recognized and vastly more should be done to help the young to a personal realization of the presence of God. In the next place the public worship of the churches should be remodeled. Let there be, as now, a service centering in the sermon. Let this, however, be somewhat abridged in certain parts, in order that there may be a second and distinct part of the service whose one great object should be the cultivation of the thought of the presence and majesty of God. In this part no reasoned discourse, but only solemn ascriptions of praise, chosen from the Bible or the church's liturgies, hymns of pure adoration, and also silent worship. Otto has been strongly impressed by the principle of silent common worship as the Quakers conceive it.

JOHN R. VAN PELT.

BOOK NOTICES

RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Paul and Jesus. By BENJAMIN W. BACON, D.D. Pp. 251. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $2.50.

DID Paul alter the teaching of Jesus? Whatever he did, the gospel of Jesus quickly became a gospel about Jesus. "The one is concerned with the Kingdom of God, the other with eternal life. The one is a religion of social salvation, the other a religion of personal salvation" (p. 34). Did Paul preach the gospel he received or did he become an innovator? Some have denied that there was any change. Others, for example, Wrede, reply that Jesus knew nothing of what for Paul was basic and that Paul, not Jesus, turned Christianity into a religion of redemption. Since its first investigation by Paret in 1858 this problem has called forth a wealth of literature. In this country its life has been both more youthful and less exciting than on the continent.

Professor Bacon's book, which comprises lectures given at Manchester College, Oxford, a little more than a year ago, is an important one

for the student of Christianity and demonstrates that not all has been said on this theme. His solution, that the momentous change from the gospel of Jesus to the gospel about Jesus was not the product of Paul's work, but of events antecedent to his missionary activity, that his gospel of redemption he found rather than formulated *de novo*, is not new. Among others Jülicher, Jacquier, and Moe have asserted it. However, here is a distinctive study of the problem which is not only quite readable, but as usual with Bacon's work will reward close study. Sufficiently clear to be valuable for the lay reader, the book reflects such commendable balance and excellent insight, such use of materials new and old, and such illumination upon related problems that it is no less important for the scholar.

The method of approach to the problem is sound. Dr. Bacon believes it a mistake to seek contrasts between Jesus and Paul and then to draw conclusions from literary statistics (as for example Resch). That method implies that Jesus's gospel was static rather than dynamic. It was something that lived and grew and in its development there is a continuity. Bacon is surely right in insisting that Paul's message was not an innovation to himself nor his fellow disciples. He merely developed a change which resulted from an historical situation which arose between the time of Jesus's work and his. "The sacraments came first, the literature came afterward" (p. 10). By these and by the death and resurrection "the gospel was transfigured" (p. 55).

To be sure Paul's interpretation of the gospel story was more individualized and so to a greater degree universalized than that of his predecessors, and his spirit and emphases are reflected throughout New Testament literature. For instance the Petrine epistles are by a Paulinist author and are a part of an attempt made in Acts 15 to Paulinize Peter. Mark, the standard for the rest, "is a posthumous collection of Petrine material by a Paulinist for Paulinists" (p. 16). The materials of the gospel story in Mark are so selected and told as to underscore the religious values emphasized by Paul, for example the attitude toward the Jewish law, the sacraments, the use of gifts of the Spirit and the thought of Jesus as more a martyr than an ethical and religious teacher. Very interesting examples of the Paulinization of Petrine tradition, the insertion of later seen values into the original story, by use of the Jewish Midrash are given in pp. 161-162. The Second Source reflects a Christology "whose affinity with Paul's is strikingly close." However "there is no doctrine of the cross" (p. 189). Since Matthew and Luke have used this source and Mark, both reveal a Pauline outline even though they represent, in a sense, a reaction from Paul. Professor Bacon notes that the gospel of reconciliation, declared by Paul to be the kernel of the common faith and given in the synoptics only in the sacrament narratives, is lacking even there in Luke. Save in Paul's speech at Miletus, he consistently refers to the death of Jesus only as the despicable act of wicked Jews. The author's explanation of why this is true in unconvincing.

The Fourth Gospel Bacon believes to be the work not of an eye-witness—truly that creates more difficulties than it solves—but of an

unknown Ephesian disciple of Paul who felt that the Petrine-Markan tradition and teaching of Jesus should be recast to meet the need of churches under Pauline influence, so he does with the story of Jesus about what we might have expected Paul to do with it. To both "the Christ after the flesh" is quite secondary, so the "Johannine" Christ is not a teacher of ethics, but the incarnated Son, the atoning Lamb. In its *dramatis personæ* are no publicans and sinners; they are all believers or Jews who do not believe. An excellent summary of Pauline themes in John appears on page 248.

There are some questions one would like to raise. Since the author asserts that Jesus was superior to apocalyptic eschatology, why does he think the Eschatological school "are (grammatical slip) very likely right in maintaining that Jesus went up to Jerusalem in the conviction that if he did not carry Israel with him God himself would visibly intervene"? (p. 31). Again, one almost suspects the wish to be father to the thought, when Dr. Bacon states that the work of Luke and Matthew "is not more than a score of years earlier than the Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp" (p. 170). That preference for the *terminus ad quem* to the *terminus a quo* is very helpful, if not necessary to the construction placed upon these works. Finally, is the evidence adduced decisive for the reflection of the Pauline throughout the New Testament or the pre-Pauline? Jacquier (Histoire des Livres du Nouveau Testament) contends that James, 1 Peter, Hebrews, and the Pauline epistles all reflect the same oral catechism in outline which we find imbedded in the synoptics and that we may reason from these to the oral gospel anterior to our written records. Bacon concludes that the foci about which these writings swing are Pauline. In view of the fact that he argues that the gospel of Jesus had already become the gospel about Jesus when Paul accepted it, though in much, for example Christology, he developed beyond his predecessors, it is clear that the only difference between these conclusions is one of emphasis. The reviewer feels that Professor Bacon has rather more conclusively established Jacquier's emphasis than his own. To many excellent things in this book no allusion can be made, but why is such an excellent book published without an index?

Allegheny College. IRWIN R. BEILER.

Luke the Historian in the Light of Research. By A. T. ROBERTSON, M.A., D.D. 8vo, pp. ix+257. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $2.50.

No writer has done more to revolutionize New Testament criticism than Professor W. M. Ramsay. He began his studies years ago with a prejudice against the historicity of the New Testament, particularly the Gospel of Luke and Acts. But the testimony of the papyri and the monuments converted him, and he reached the conclusion that "Luke's history is unsurpassed in respect of its trustworthiness." The results of his mature thinking are given in his latest book, The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament, indispensable to

every student of early Christianity. Adolph Harnack is another eminent scholar whose views have undergone a radical change in favor of Luke.

The Acts is now assigned to an early date, about 63 A. D., so that the Gospel of Luke appeared even earlier. A vast literature has grown up in connection with this and kindred problems. It is not a subject of interest only to advanced scholars but to every preacher. We are therefore greatly indebted to Professor Robertson for bringing together in his volume the best findings on the genuineness and authenticity of Luke. The mass of material to be examined was simply overwhelming, but nothing has apparently escaped the keen eye of this industrious scholar. Every page bristles with quotations, references, and footnotes. The versatility of Luke is seen in the fact that he has been described as a painter, a musician, an artist, a scholar, a physician, a mystic. The last chapter on "A Broad Outlook on Life" does justice to his cosmopolitanism, his delineations of character, his sympathy with sinners and the poor, his understanding of women and children, his spiritual insight.

Professor Robertson argues too much in a circle in the chapter on "A Physician's Account of the Birth of Jesus." He does not adequately recognize the atmosphere of the times in which Luke lived. This is also seen in the chapter on "The Miracles of Jesus." That miracles did take place cannot be doubted, but, as Professor Sanday was careful to point out, a distinction must be made between miracles which were *supra naturam* and those which were *contra naturam.* This difference has nothing to do with the power of God. It is purely a matter of evidence and a recognition of the fact that medical science, as we understand it, was unknown in the age of the beloved physician. These questions are related to theology, philosophy, and science, and should be dealt with on their merits. We agree to differ in matters of opinion, but these do not touch the fundamentals of faith in the reality of the Incarnation and the Divinity of our Lord. On questions of chronology, philology, history, archeology, text criticism, and the like, this volume by Professor Robertson is invaluable. We are thankful to him for giving us access to important material which has hitherto been too exclusive. Next to his grammar of the Greek New Testament, this volume on Luke will have permanent value.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

Jesus' Principles of Living. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT and JEREMIAH WHIPPLE JENKS. 12mo, pp. vii+149. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $1.25.

THIS volume is in the excellent series on The Bible's Message to Modern Life. The first one was on The Making of a Nation and the second on The Testing of a Nation's Ideals. The arrangement of the chapters is intended to encourage study, provoke thought, and stimulate discussion with a view to practical measures. This is exactly what should be done by Adult Bible Classes. Those who would study the latest volume on Jesus's practical philosophy of life will reach the firm conclusion that the hope of our world lies in the enlightened acceptance and

application of Jesus's standards of value. These are not rules of sumptuary legislation but principles of vital and intensive living, and their validity can be demonstrated by their practicability.

The first chapter on "Jesus's Interpretation of His Task" goes to the root of our present dilemma. We have reached an *impasse* because we do not have the vision of the totality of life and are unwilling to be influenced by the eternal principles of selfless service and considerate fellowship. The chapter on "God and Man" discusses the truths of the divine Fatherhood, human cooperation, worship, faith, prayer, eternal life. That on "Truthfulness and Sincerity" is a searching exposition of motives, and such topics as integrity in business, honesty in politics, sincerity in religion are given quite a modern setting. "Personal Responsibility" takes note of independence of judgment, tolerance, and the practical application of the golden rule. "It is significant that at least for three-fourths of his life Jesus was an active business man; hence his deep interest in economic questions." This is an arresting statement, and the fact should give even greater authoritativeness to the Master's teaching on the perils, privileges, and possibilities of wealth; it is discerningly pointed out in a fine chapter. No question needs to be more thoroughly considered than "Recreation and the Christian Use of the Sabbath." We can arrive at the truth not by negation or denunciation but by impartial investigation, and the way it should be done is well shown in this volume. Another chapter is on "The Family, the Beloved Community," which deals with the duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, and the rehabilitation of the home in view of our present confusion and needs. "The Citizen and the State" is another question of urgent moment; the chapter on it reviews the obligations of rulers and state to state, the ethical standard of government, the doctrine of nonresentment, and the Christian program of world peace.

Lloyd George recently declared that "to find the answer to the present situation is not only the hardest reparation problem, it is the hardest problem of the whole world to-day." All the more incumbent is it then on Christian men to understand how the principles of the great Teacher should be applied with a view to seeking a way of deliverance. We cannot be too frequently reminded that Jesus laid the chief emphasis upon the spirit in which a man works. This thought is illustrated in the chapter on "The Rule of God." There is a fine study of the Beatitudes in the chapter on "The Way to Happiness and Success," and their bearing on modern conditions as they pertain to the individual, the community and the nation. The concluding chapter on "The Universality of Jesus' Principles" is an excellent summary of what was taught by the Supreme Interpreter of God, the Complete Harmonizer of man with God, the Founder of complete democracy and the Eternal Cosmopolitan. The intensive discussion of all of these questions, as suggestively outlined in the present volume, will make a men's class a power for the greatest good.

What Must the Church Do to Be Saved? and Other Discussions. By Ernest Fremont Tittle. Pp. 166. The Abingdon Press. Price, $1.25 net.

Lies. By the Rev. G. A. Studdert Kennedy. Pp. x+267. London: Hodder and Stoughton. New York: George H. Doran. Price, $1.50 net.

Two living prophets, one American Methodist and the other Anglican, utter these burning messages for the age out of their clear vision of religious reality.

Dr. Tittle's book comprises the Mendenhall Lectures, 1920, delivered at De Pauw University. It is no pessimistic proclamation, as some might infer from the title, but a stirring appeal for a dynamic rather than a static Christianity. "The real danger in religion lies not in change, but rather in stagnation." "The real skeptic is the dogmatist—the man who is afraid to venture, to experiment, to become a pioneer in the spiritual world." And then he proceeds to discuss "God," "Sin," "Salvation," "Jesus Christ" in such terms as make them not merely subjects for dogmatic definition but present values for living. There is something worse than worship in an unknown language, it is to make religion a fixed fact stranded in a dead past. Dr. Tittle's lectures will help each man to translate it into his own tongue.

"Woodbine Willie," a well-known "Padre" of the Great War, is one of the outstanding English preachers of today. His own lines are the real text of the thrilling addresses of his volume on Lies.

> O by thy Cross and Passion, Lord,
> By broken hearts that pant
> For comfort and for love of thee,
> Deliver us from cant!

It is a vigorous exposure of the social, ecclesiastical, political, industrial, and other hypocrisies that camouflage with their poison clouds the path to God and Truth. Not merely the man in the street but the scholar in his study can find refreshment in this electric clearing of the moral atmosphere.

Christianity in Its Modern Expression. By George Burnam Foster, late Professor of Philosophy of Religion, University of Chicago. Pp. xiv+294. New York: The Macmillan Company.

This book is made up of the dictated portions of Professor Foster's theological lectures, with many additional notes. He had the true pedagogic genius which finds more worth in a living question than in a dead answer, and stimulates students to do their own thinking. He was a daring thinker who frequently reached Christian certainty by the pathway of philosophic doubt. He constantly states the fundamentals of doctrine and ethics in terms of the modern mind, but the supreme value of these lectures is less in their conclusions than in the very vital process by which these are reached. Of course preaching must present a far more concrete statement of religious truth than is contained in such discussions, but the preacher will find a firm foundation for his message in these drastic analyses of dogmatics and ethics.

The Common Creed of Christians. Studies of the Apostles' Creed. By Wm. P. Merrill, D.D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.

It is curious how much difference of opinion arises around so simple a statement as the Apostles' Creed, the oldest in use in the Christian Church. The multitude who recite it at every Sunday morning service do so probably with little or no question as to any of the declarations used. It is a form of sound words that seem to breathe the spirit of the gospel. We are living in a critical age when creeds and confessions are not only freely criticized, but practically laid aside. There is progress in theology, and the belief of to-day differs, though slightly, from that of yesterday. Dr. Merrill prepared his sermons on the Apostles' Creed with the understanding that his congregation represented various views concerning it, and his object was evidently to commend it as the best summary ever made of the faith, not in every particular phrase, but in general and in substance. He is concerned not with its history of theological interpretation, but with the influence it should have on the lives of those reciting it. At the outset he reminds us that the value of a creed is not in its possession, but in its use. Even the devils believe. His position as to the phrase: "I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord," is sympathetic and reverent. He calls attention to the fact that apostolical succession, the inerrancy of the Scriptures and the Virgin Birth are not mentioned by Christ and evidently were not held by him as vital, and yet they have divided the church. If we would make Christ and his gospel authoritative in the church's life, he says, "so that no other opinion could stand against his judgment," accepting his tests and aims, "so that no doctrines could be held essential which he does not clearly count as vital," the church could not be held apart.

Dr. Merrill refers to the phrase "resurrection of the body" as archaic. It would not be included in a Creed written to-day. Nevertheless, he thinks the creed is richer for this phrase, and that we would lose something vital and valuable if it were eliminated. What it means to us is "the continuity of personal existence," which is not vague, shadowy or unreal. "We associate reality with flesh and blood, and therefore we say—all inadequately, clumsily and childishly—our conviction that the future life will not be vaporous, but warm-blooded, not a shadow of living, but life that is life indeed." He also finds in the phrase an indication "of the religious importance of the body and of common, homely, earthly things"; and that the "bodily life counts in the eternal life." The difficulty of treating the resurrection of Christ as a spiritual and not a bodily resurrection Dr. Merrill does not discuss; but he refers to Paul's discussion of the subject as an endeavor to satisfy both the Hebrew, who believed in a bodily resurrection, and the Greek, who held to a spiritual resurrection.

Dr. Merrill's discussion is not of course exhaustive, but it is such as a congregation would deem sufficient. Its effect is to sustain the Creed as a common expression of faith, sufficiently comprehensive and sufficiently accurate for common use. It was a wise act of our General

Conference to make a place for it in our plan of worship, even though one phrase has been dropped, as liable to be misunderstood. The people enjoy it and it has an educational and unifying influence. Moreover, it is the only creed upon which a general reunion of the church could be based. It is accepted by the movement for the union of Evangelical Churches in the United Churches of Christ. H. K. CARROLL.

The Treatise of St. Bernard, Abbot of Chairvaux, Concerning Grace and Free Will. Translated, with an Introduction, Synopsis and Notes by Watkins W. Williams, M.A. Pp. xiv+95. London: S. P. C. K. New York: The Macmillan Company.

LIKE Anselm's *Cur Deus-Homo?* this treatise of Saint Bernard, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, is among the books with which every student of theology should be familiar. We know no better edition than this, with its excellent synopsis, and the learned notes which link the thought of Saint Bernard with Augustine and Anselm before him and Saint Thomas Aquinas after him. His affirmation of Free Choice still remaining to man after the Fall, as a part of the divine image, conditioned indeed by the limitations of sin and earthly misery and his doctrine of prevenient Grace with which our free will must cooperate for salvation reveal how medieval theology at its best is at one with evangelical faith. The subtle distinctions and rigid definitions of the Scholastics have not wholly lost their worth for modern thought.

I Believe: Sermons on the Apostles' Creed. Rev. G. A. STUDDERT KENNEDY. Pp. xvi+316. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $1.50 net.

THERE is just one way to review this last book by the author of "Lies!" It is to quote his own purpose in these dynamic addresses on the Creed. Listen to him:

"We shall never know where we are politically, economically, or industrially until we know where we are religiously and morally. . . . You cannot be fixed about anything unless you have a faith about everything. We *must* have a creed."

"Poetry does not say all it means, it hints at it. So do creeds. They are absurd as statements, but superb as symbols. You must have them—you must have dogmas. Undogmatic teaching is the dryest, dullest, dreariest thing in the world. . . . What we need is not less dogma, but more of it—tons of it. . . . Dogma is the potted poetry of faith. It is the radium of reality."

"If our creed is only a form, that may be our fault, not the creed's. You can bet on this—*You don't really believe your creed until you want to say it standing at spiritual attention, with the roll of drums in your ears, the light of love dazzling your eyes, and all the music of a splendid world crashing out a prelude to its truth.* If your creed is dull, it is dead, or you are dead, and either one or the other of you must be made alive again. Either you must change your creed or your creed must change

you. That is the problem that faces us—are we to change the Christian creed or is the Christian creed to change us? I am betting on the creed every time, and I want to tell you why."

And he proceeds to tell us why, in a dozen discourses on the articles of the Apostles' Creed which find in it, not merely propositions to be believed, but truths to be lived. He dodges no difficulty, neither the Virgin Birth nor the Resurrection. But he makes it easier for us to accept them, when we discover their real worth for life. The issues are seen to be more than intellectual, they are spiritual and moral.

All of us cannot preach with the gripping urge and fiery intensity of "Woodbine Willie," but he does show us that real preaching is a message out of life to life. Do you wonder that St. Paul's, Worcester, England, is crowded to hear him?

What Christianity Means to Me. A Spiritual Autobiography. By LYMAN ABBOTT. 12mo, pp. xi+194. New York: The Macmillan Company. price, $1.75.

SOME years ago Professor William Newton Clarke wrote a book on Sixty Years with the Bible. This keen thinker and saint traced the steps by which he was led to see that the Bible, when read with a sense of historical and spiritual perspective, makes for the deep enrichment of Christian experience, and gives a broader conception of the character of God, the person of Christ, the destiny of man, and divine inspiration. Dr. Abbott at the age of eighty-five years has just written what he describes as "a spiritual autobiography." He reviews his remarkable experiences as preacher, teacher, and editor, and records his conclusions concerning the gospel of life and love.

This is an intensely religious book, and it interprets the message of redeeming love with charming persuasiveness. He does not go much beyond the gospel of Galilee, and it is a humanitarian Jesus to whom we are introduced. We must, however, go forward from the ethical to the mystical, and, in spite of the inevitable confusion, we cannot discard metaphysics, philosophy, and psychology without impoverishing the Christian message. If there is a difference between the Christianity of Christ and the Christianity of the twentieth century, it must not be in respect of the development of the essential idea of Jesus Christ which is final, but in respect of its applications to new conditions. Whatever advances are made in thought, they must be in harmony with the original deposit of truth or cease to be Christianity. This distinction is not made sufficiently clear.

The reasoning of Dr. Abbott is marked by ripe wisdom, and the reader learns to distinguish between the fundamental truths and the detrimental accretions of later centuries. There is, moreover, a rich spiritual flavor, and he expresses his thought with characteristic clarity of style. He favors the prophetic and religious interpretation rather than the priestly and ecclesiastical, and he rightly emphasizes the experimental more than the theological tests of truth. Creeds are exclusive, not

inclusive; "Jesus taught men how to live, the churches have taught men how to think." This is an extreme way of stating the facts, for Jesus himself was a lucid thinker. In a later chapter, Dr. Abbott qualifies his position by pointing out that though the church has been the imperfect embodiment of the Spirit of Christ, this Christian Brotherhood has never been more Christian than to-day. On the influence of the Spirit of Christ there is much here written that is both gratifying and satisfying. See especially chapter five on the effects of Christ's influence upon architecture, painting, poetry, and music—the "four chief symbolical expressions of the inner life of man."

It is worth remembering that while paganism was Christianized, Christianity was paganized. The results of this are seen in many of the beliefs and practices of the church, and are further witnessed in the contradictory character and career of the church. The words, "Thou art Peter," etc., refer not to the apostles nor their confession of faith, but to all who have been transformed by the power of the indwelling Christ. On this subject there is an interesting chapter, "The Church's One Foundation," and an appendix.

Dr. Abbott glosses over the fact of the Resurrection of Christ. His assertion is without foundation that baptism and the Lord's Supper were not prescribed by Jesus. If they early became church ordinances, as he acknowledges, it is proof that they were in some way related to Jesus. Besides, the testimony of the New Testament and of the early Church cannot be lightly set aside. There are informal expositions of such subjects as sin, repentance, salvation, justification by faith, atonement, regeneration, incarnation, sacrifice. On the last topic the chapter on "My life a ransom for many" is particularly fine. On the whole this is a good book to place in the hands of those who are confused.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

A New Mind for the New Age. By HENRY CHURCHILL KING, D.D. 12mo, pp. 192. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.. Price, $1.50.

SUFFICIENT time has elapsed since the Armistice to evaluate the good and evil results of the war. President King of Oberlin College examines the perils and values of the new situation and suggests some of the ways by which the first might be avoided and the second conserved. His style is somewhat too voluminous, and there are too many repetitions which indicate that the book has been hastily gotten up. Several of his arguments have lost their point since the lectures were first delivered, so rapidly have things moved. Certain of his criticisms, for instance, concerning the attitude of the United States to the League of Nations, are onesided, and there is more of rhetoric than of sober analysis and exposition. When he enters the field of international politics he acts poorly the role of a prophet.

The greatest peril to which we are exposed is that "of letting slip what is probably the largest opportunity that the race has ever had for a great advance." Another peril is that of reaction, with the reactionary

unwillingness to face new issues and to adjust ourselves to them, due in large measure to class, partisan and national selfishness. A more attractive picture is given in the lecture on the values of the new age. The sense of world solidarity, the practice of scientific coöperation and organization, the trend of democracy, the growth of internationalism, are among the factors of the new social order, where the development of personality is seen to be more important and mandatory than the acquisition of goods. The war has also compelled us to revise our shallow ideas of progress, creed, and morals. What was exhibited during the war, of idealism, of the conviction of the supremacy of intangible values, of voluntary coöperation, of the spirit of sacrifice, must now be directed toward solving the intricate problems of peace. The argument is pursued on a high level, with understanding and an appreciation of the need for clear thought and prompt action.

The remaining three lectures treat of the new mind and the qualifications necessary to meet the manysided challenge of the new age. "This is no time to scuttle back to old indulgences; it is no time for petty, private aims, or for narrow, selfish nationalism." The lecture on the political and social challenge suggests how the perils of the new age mentioned in the second lecture are to be overcome. The program of the League of Nations is far too complicated, and Dr. King's method of trying to stampede the United States is irritating and confuses the issue. It savors far too much of partisanship and shows more forcibly than ever that "the supreme task before men at the present time is political education." The very essence of this educational task, to continue the quotation from H. G. Wells in The Outline of History, is for men of good will in all states and countries, "to bring to the minds of all men everywhere, as a necessary basis for world coöperation, a new telling and interpretation, a common interpretation, of history" (Vol. II, p. 583). This educational challenge is finely discussed by Dr. King in the fifth lecture. The spirit of education must be one of reverence for personality—one's own and that of others; this involves respect for the liberty of others and for the sanctity of their personality. The failure of education on the ideal side makes imperative the need of definite, discriminating but tolerant moral and religious education. This question is dealt with in the last lecture. The plea for a world Christian civilization is well made. We must reckon with the Inescapable Christ and be sure that our Christianity is "the Christianity of Christ himself, measuring up both to his ideals and to his consciousness of himself and of his mission." Thus only can we establish civilization on a spiritual basis and conquer the world, which awaits its mastery in all realms by the Christian spirit. This is what is meant by the Christianization of the world.

* * *

PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY

The Group Mind. By WILLIAM MCDOUGALL, F.R.S. 8vo, pp. xxii+418. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

A CRITIC of a former work of Professor McDougall, the Introduction to Social Psychology, said, "He seems to do a great deal of packing in preparation for a journey on which he never starts." But in this book he is now en route. It is a short journey, however, into the field of collective psychology proper and rather a more extended excursion into the realm of the psychology of a nation. For the principles of the group mind are traversed in only five short chapters and then through fifteen more, the reader is carried into an exposition of these principles as seen in the greatest of all groups, the nation.

The combative will find many personal opinions expressed by Professor McDougall on highly controversial subjects with which to take issue. None but Englishmen will feel flattered by the contrasts which he makes between the people of the "right little, tight little island" and nearly every other people on the globe. The Americans, to whom the professor comes to lecture at Harvard, will probably not accept the historic judgment of his left-handed compliment, when he says, "Judicious well-wishers of the American nation rejoice that it has recently entered more fully into the international arena, and has not continued to pursue the policy of isolation, which was long in favor; because, as is already manifest, this fuller intercourse and intenser rivalry with other nations must render fuller and more effective their national spirit, develop the national will and raise the national life to a higher plane, giving to individuals higher ends and motives than the mere accumulation of wealth, and removing that self complacency as regards their national existence which has characterized them in common with the peoples of Thibet and China." Shades of Theodore Roosevelt! Does he really mean that we have been *Chinafied?* That the author has a high appreciation of the fact that the United States, in spite of its apparent lack of homogeneity, which he says is one of the primary requisites for a true nation, is not unworthy to be classed as a nation, is revealed in his words, "Nevertheless, the people is truly a nation and, perhaps, further advanced in the evolution of national consciousness, thought, and action than many other of the civilized peoples."

But this pronounced Anglicized consciousness is a minor matter and detracts but little from a most illuminating discussion of an important subject on which no one has written with greater authority than Professor McDougall.

The phenomena that an individual behaves differently in a crowd than in isolation, and that in a crowd one's emotions are stirred to a pitch they seldom or never attain under other conditions, have long been noted. That men can act collectively with greater advantage to the individual than when acting singly is, of course, an observation commonplace enough. But it is only recently that the significance of these facts has led to their scientific study. The book before us is the work of a pioneer.

Former discussions of collective psychology, to a large extent, have been limited to the consideration of spontaneous groups, such as the mob or some other miscellaneous crowd which temporarily might exhibit a "collective intensification of instinctive excitement." Writers, like LeBon, have described with great vividness the wildfire of fear as it sweeps over a crowd in a panic or the pleasurable emotion of a vast concourse of people when they have the sheer delight of letting themselves go. But little attempt has been made to investigate the highly organized groups of humanity where the influence over the individual is no less marked but is of an entirely different character. It has been this limitation of the study to only the groups of low organization which has led former investigators to the doleful conclusion that group life degrades the individual, that the moral and intellectual standards of the crowd are always below the plane of the standards of its individual members. Professor McDougall, on the other hand, makes it clear that the more permanent, better organized group has just the opposite effect upon its members and that it is only by participation in the life of organized society that a man can realize his higher potentialities.

An attempt is made in this work to clarify the principles of group life of this higher order, but the author is well aware that his conclusions may be tentative. There is need of a preliminary, more thoroughgoing psychology of human nature. Professor McDougall repudiates the entity of an "over-soul" as a very damaging product made in Germany. He does believe very profoundly in a "collective" mind formed from the interaction of individual minds in a way similar to the formation of an individual mind by the interaction of its component factors. This collective mind is more than the sum of thoughts of the group under consideration if for no other reason than the fact that the mental life of the group is influenced not only by its living units but also by those who, though dead, exert power and prestige through the group traditions.

A very interesting contrast is elaborated between the crowd of little or no organization and an army, probably the most efficient of all highly organized groups. Then the simplicity of an army is contrasted with the vast complexity of a modern nation. And the question is discussed whether this richer and more varied life can function as purposefully as the simpler group. Under the heading, "What is a Nation?" there is more than a hint that the statesmen of the world might as well give a little thought to this question before proposing to settle all disputes on the basis of the self-determination of nations. Does race, or geography, or language determine a nation? Or, is a people a nation simply when it thinks itself a nation? These are questions which are frankly faced.

This work is valuable not only because it deals with the principles of human association which every statesman should know, but because it illumines many crucial problems in the light of these principles. For example, Professor McDougall has a very suggestive chapter on "The Part of Leaders in National Life." The difficulty of Race looms large in his discussion. He writes hopefully of the class consciousness of our economic groups. He does not fear the destruction of society which it

seems sometimes to threaten. He believes that this class consciousness, though at times very acute, is limited by a lack of stability and internal cohesion. It depends too much upon merely materialistic interests and these are not the only interests men have. Men in our complex life belong to more than one group, and it is in their multiple-group consciousness that the safety of the nation rests. It is a false policy also that would destroy the family in the supposed interests of the state or would suppress all local loyalties and patriotisms in the name of the ideal of the brotherhood of man. The all inclusive groups can best be advanced by the development of the minor group sentiments. In the smaller groups, a man's energies function most effectively. It is here he can learn best how to harmonize conflicting interests. And healthy rivalry between groups really promotes the welfare of the whole. A hierarchy of groups within the group is the ideal.

The thesis does not go beyond the discussion of national group consciousness, but no barrier is set to the possibility of an international group consciousness which may develop sentiment, purpose and will for mankind as a whole without equating all national or racial values. The outlook of the book on the whole is optimistic, but it fears that the future will not be all clear sailing. In a paragraph which a foot-note states was written before the war it is said, "Already there is beginning to develop a European self-consciousness and a European purpose, provoked by the demonstration of the hitherto latent power of Asia; and, if a federation of European peoples is ever to be realized, it will be the result of their further development through opposition to a great and threatening Asiatic power, a revived Moslem empire or possibly a threatened American domination." War has been the greatest influence in the development of national consciousness, national unity, and national purpose. History offers no parallel to these effects of war, and it is difficult for our author to imagine any substitute for war to produce them. He makes the striking suggestion that probably international rivalry between the most highly developed peoples in their administration of the affairs and territories of the backward peoples will produce sufficient national pride and moral responsibility to provide an effective substitute for war.

This book is primarily one for students of psychology and sociology, for it deals with the vague borderland of these departments of knowledge, but it would be difficult to find a more fruitful field for the thought of the churchman. The principles which are here applied to the nation are equally applicable to the church. In fact, the author says that in respect of continuity of existence, of a long past, involving a history of self-sacrificing efforts and many heroic actions and of the prospect of an indefinitely prolonged future of continual progress, the church alone can enter into serious rivalry with the nation as an object of loyalty. For the builder of the church, however, who conceives of Christianity as essentially dynamic, who thinks of the ideal of the Kingdom of God as a possible purpose for all mankind and who believes that religion properly understood is an effective equivalent for war, the professor leaves much to be desired, even in his incidental references to church and religion. There

is too pale a cast of thought in his passing notice of these mighty factors which have in them the potentialities for producing that final group wherein preeminently man will become fully man.

WILBUR V. MALLALIEU.

Psychology and Natural Theology. By OWEN A. HILL, S.J., Ph.D. Pp. xiii+351. New York: The Macmillan Company.

IN this single volume is comprised a complete college course on metaphysics for Roman Catholic institutions. It strictly adheres to the scholastic method, consequently the student will not be bothered with psycho-physical experimentation, nor with such themes as functional, genetic, or behavioristic psychology. Nothing seems to have been learned in the world of reflective thought since Saint Thomas Aquinas.

Now there are some advantages in such a purely dogmatic system of metaphysics. You start from intellectual certainty and have a Case System of clear answers to all the problems of thought and life. Even the most advanced Modernists would agree that many of the postulates of primitive philosophic theory have a high pragmatic value in current thinking. It is highly interesting to project one's self into a medieval atmosphere, and listen to positive *a priori* theses postulated, followed by Questions, Proofs, and Principles, including shrewd if sometimes sophistical answers to a multitude of questions. Even the Protestant preacher would be helped in clearness of statement and forensic skill by familiarity with this old-fashioned dialectic. Perhaps there is no better method of answering superficial rhetoricians, like Robert G. Ingersoll, and the decadent modernists of rotten literature and art.

But dogmatism and scholasticism have no answers to the questions raised when religions and historic reality have passed through the fires of criticism. The philosophy and psychology of religion must keep pace with scientific development. And the soul which possesses the spiritual certainty of religious experience has no fears of the result. The Jesuits possess great pedagogic skill but no satisfying system of thought.

Perhaps the Protestant minister can find no better handbook of scholasticism than Dr. Hill's work. He will also find in it many penetrating answers to the problems raised by agnosticism and materialism.

Essays: Speculative and Political. By the Rt. Hon. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, M.A., F.R.S. LL.D., D.C.L. Pp. 241. New York: George H. Doran Company.

IT is one of the glories of Great Britain that so many of her statesmen are also scholars. Arthur James Balfour, of one of the most distinguished families in English history, one of her outstanding political leaders, is also philosopher, theologian and *littérateur*. Beginning with his great thesis, The Defense of Philosophic Doubt, followed by The Foundations of Faith, and Theism and Humanism, his contributions to the philosophy of religion have few superiors in modern thought.

In the present volume of essays, Mr. Balfour adds a fitting corollary to his Foundations of Faith by an acute study of Bergson's Creative Evolution. He contends, and we think successfully, that the weak spot in the Bergsonian philosophy is the lack of a teleological goal for the vital impulse; his freedom of will is nothing but anarchy. (Is there any essential difference between Herbert Spencer's idea of the instability of the homogeneous and Bergson's philosophy of change? Are not both really theories of organized chance?) Other speculative essays of high value are the ones on "Beauty and the Criticism of Beauty," and on "Decadence."

First among the political essays must be placed "A German's View of German World-Policy and War," a trenchant critique of Treitschke's Lectures on Politics. He drastically and sarcastically exposes and explodes the German professor's theory of the State as Power, a power without any power of self-limitation, so that no treaty can be binding and War is the supreme medicine of Civilization! Well, Germany has taken her own medicine in her attempt to be the physician that would cure Europe, and she herself is nigh to death while all the world is ill.

Mr. Balfour is one of the few philosophic writers whose clarity of language and conversational style make them readable by everybody.

The New Philosophy of Modern Science. By W. W. STRONG, B.S., Ph.D. Pp. viii+194. York, Pa.: Kyle Printing Company.

HERE is a curious attempt to merge metaphysics and physics. The author out-Einsteins Einstein in his devotion to the doctrine of relativity. Logical confusion and literary crudity blend with abundant scientific erudition, spiritual insight, and moral intensity to produce this "unique philosophy." The reviewer confesses that he has not yet discovered how the thermodynamic function ϕ can be transformed into what the author calls "the vital entropy imperative," a sort of soul entity whose goal is God, Freedom, and Immortality. One wants to laugh at the bits of *vers libre* doggerel with which the book is interspersed, but is restrained by meeting on every page passages alive with lofty vision and all aflame with religious conviction. Leave out the science and here is a collection of passionate sermons; omit the bits of prophetic appeal and there remains much scientific material. But one hesitates to accept the merger. There is a difference between life and mechanism.

A Century of Persecution, Under Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns from Contemporary Records. By the Rev. ST. GEORGE KIERAN HYLAND, D.D., Ph.D. Pp. xiv+495. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

THIS is an elaborate and exceedingly well-written record of the religious, social, and political life of England during the Reformation Period, as seen from the Roman Catholic point of view. It presents a charming picture of monastic and village life up to the time of the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII.

As a countercharge of persecution upon Protestantism it utterly fails

to make out a case. If the Tudors used the Reform movement for political purposes and confiscated monastic properties largely for financial reasons, the blame must fall upon that king whom a Pope, on account of his book written *against* Luther, had called "The Defender of the Faith," and upon his unscrupulous minister, Thomas Cromwell. In this cruel outbreak of religious bigotry the Lollards, the real reformers of England, had absolutely no share. The author knows this very well and proof will be found in the chapter entitled "Reform Leads to Dissent." In the numerous quotations from the dissenting records of a parish there can be found full evidence that Nonconformists were ever opposed to religious persecution.

The charges of falsehood made upon Fox's Book of Martyrs are much exaggerated. Some of John Fox's narratives may have been recklessly collected and inspired by prejudice, but much of his work is based upon official records. Dr. Hyland touches very lightly upon the horrible Marian persecution. He freely quotes and criticises Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, but not a single line in his book refers to their martyrdom under Bloody Mary. Indeed, his handling of the evidence seems based upon a probabilistic casuistry, peculiar to Jesuitism.

With this caution, required by the author's attitude, kept in mind, one can highly commend his work for the multitude of documents it presents not otherwise accessible and for many fascinating descriptions of much neglected aspects of a strenuous period of history.

Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster. By Ernest Harold Pearce, Litt.D., F.S.A., Bishop of Worcester. Pp. 236. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price 12s., net.

Many readers of this notice will recall the brilliant Memorials of Westminster (1868-69) by the ever-to-be-remembered and loved Dean Stanley, who touched nothing that he did not adorn, a book as valuable to-day as when published. The present volume is devoted to one abbot alone, Walter de Wenlok, 1283ff., is founded on contemporary manuscripts and documents, gives an indispensable picture of an indefatigable, capable, conscientious monk and man of affairs, in which there is much to interest the student of the technical side of a mediæval monasticism, in its humdrum daily proceedings and business—all important but not very exciting. The most interesting chapters are those on The Burglary, 146ff., and on The Great Case of Hadham versus Wenlok, 167ff. The book is thoroughly documented, and is one of those careful, scholarly, minute studies in the bypaths of ecclesiastical history of which Anglicans have given us so many. It is in the series "Ecclesiastical Biographies," of which the first is by E. K. Sanders (well known as a Fénelon expert), Sainte Chantal, 1572-1641. An exhaustive index to Dr. Pearce's book delights the reader's heart.

J. A. Faulkner.

Kurzgefasste Geschichte des Methodismus von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Von Dr. JOHN L. NUELSEN, THEOPHIL MANN and J. J. SOMMER. Bremen: Buchhandlung und Verlag des Traktathauses, G. m. b. H. 1921. 8vo, pp. viii+780. Price, M.36.

A NOBLE volume, an honor to the authors and to Methodist literature! Would that we could have spoken to our enemies at the gate, those embittered Lutheran parsons, with such a sane, well-considered, well-balanced history as this in the years of persecution! Listen. Sommer went to Nürnberg (Nuremberg) in 1876. "An old law forbade every public worship of God outside of the state churches [Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and probably Reformed]. The magistrate told me that I might hold family worship, but that my maid or a visitor could not attend. Therefore it happened that even holders of devotional meetings of the Pietists, often imprisoned, were put in jail one night, and if they were Württembergers dispatched over the border the next morning. The authorities did not gladly turn this law upon the Methodists, but the [Lutheran] clergy frequently demanded them to do it. So it came that singing and praying were forbidden, and only 'Biblical Lectures' allowed. . . . One of the preachers relates: 'Once I went past an inn, and heard swearing and an immoral song which drove blushes to the cheeks of an honorable man. The next morning I had to go before the magistrate to answer for the transgression of singing the hymn, 'Lobe den Herrn, O meine Seele,' and was accused at the same time of praying. 'If I am not allowed to pray, is it allowed to curse?' I asked the magistrate. 'Can I sing immoral songs, if Christian ones are forbidden.' 'Yes, when you will; the law does not forbid it.' . . . But it was no light matter to obey a law which forbade prayer, and that in a 'Christian state' in 1878!" (pp. 564–5.)

The work is divided into five parts: (1) A history of British Methodism to the death of Wesley, by our Bishop Nuelsen, pp. 1–205; (2) history of British Methodism from the death of Wesley to the present, 206–372, by Mann; (3) history of American Methodism, 373–527, by Nuelsen; (4) history of Methodism on the European continent, 528–738, by Sommer; and (5) general, 739–760, by Nuelsen. This is followed by two valuable statistical tables, by an admirable bibliography, and by an index. It goes without saying that this, probably the best History of Methodism ever written in one large octavo volume, will go immediately on the Course of Study for German and Scandinavian preachers (as I take it that all the latter can read German), and its translation into our own tongue and study by all English-speaking preachers throughout the world is devoutly to be wished. Its honored and able chief author has put us greatly in his debt already by his Luther (1906) (which might well now for a change take the place on our Course of Study of the very "advanced" and rationalistic Luther which has been on our Course for several years), by his Some Recent Phases of German Theology (1908), and he has now capped his achievements by this great and notable History. His last two chapters on the doctrine and the

Church History significance of Methodism are fresh, strong, and interesting. Many passages offer themselves for quotation from his clear and easily read German, which we commend to all who have taken lessons in the language of Schiller and Tholuck, but we must content ourselves with a word on our doctrine of Christian Perfection.

"Methodism acknowledges in the pessimism in regard to the natural condition of man not a delusion of obscurantists, called out perhaps by special individual experiences of a Paul, an Augustine, and others, but an incontrovertible fact proved by the history of all times, even by the most recent. Its intensive activity in evangelization, its preaching of repentance and of experience of salvation can only be understood on the ground of this conviction of the lost sinful condition of man and of free grace in Christ Jesus, which man appropriates in faith and by which he becomes transformed into a new man. Justification by faith alone, without one's own merit, forms also in Methodism a corner-pillar of the preaching. And yet the conception of Methodism in regard to the possibility of development of human nature so far as it allows itself to be led by God's Spirit and power, is thoroughly optimistic. It remains not simply by the mere forgiveness of sins, not simply by the hope of a blessedness to come, in spite of a constant feeling of sin. In its doctrine of holiness and perfection it possesses a means to hold before the eyes the positive and to be striven for ideal of a personality in Christ ripely grounded and perfectly matured. Methodism's doctrine of perfection is thoroughly practical. It corresponds to the deep longing of man for affirmation, confirmation, and practical effect. It does not stay by a painful backward look upon the past, nor by weak complaints over the imperfect present, nor by deedless hoping for a blessed life beyond, but it stretches itself to the object to be reached in this life, to be perfect in love. Thereby moral powers are loosed; they do not wear themselves down by isolated endeavors, but are comprehended in a totality which embraces the widest and richest possibilities. The far-reaching significance of the Methodist doctrine of perfection for modern life lies not in this or that detail over which there can be difference of opinion; it lies in the practical power with which it lifts the Christian life out of the joyless state of compulsory daily falling and sinning, and leads it to the freedom, the joy of conquest, to the optimism of a glad faith, 'I can do all things through him who makes me mighty'" (pp. 757–8).

J. A. Faulkner.

Tales of the Samurai. By Asataro Miyamori. 8vo, pp. 233. Tokyo; Kyo-Bun-Kwan. (The Japanese Methodist Publishing House.)

These are "Stories illustrating Bushido, the Moral Principles of the Japanese Knighthood." The author, Professor of English in Tayo University, tells us that they are based on fact and have been adapted from the tales told by storytellers, "who nightly delight large audiences with romances and historical stories, especially the noble deeds of the samurai." In the very year that feudalism was abolished in Japan, 1871, a

collection of these stories entitled Tales of Old Japan, by Lord Redesdale, then a a secretary of the British Embassy, was placed within reach of Western readers. It contained the true and justly famous stories of the Forty-seven Ronins and the Ghost of Sakura. It ran through as many as a dozen editions and is still in print, an indispensable manual for any who would enter into the spirit of old Japan. About twenty years ago a Japanese writer, Professor Inazo Nitobe, wrote a book called Bushido the Saul of Japan, in which he presented in delightful fashion the inner meaning of this ancient code of honor. True the picture was idealized, but it was done as the Japanese themselves idealize it, so that it still remained true to fact. This very day one of the old Samurai, who had himself carried the two swords, now one of the most honored of Christian ministers in Japan, sat in the study of the present reviewer and told of his education in honesty and courage and loyalty, admitting at the same time the dreadful failure in practice on the part of many Samurai of his day. This volume by Professor Miyamori is one of many which have appeared in recent years recounting the valor and loyalty of these soldier-scholars of the old regime. It presents vividly in eight stories a number of typical Samurai traits. Loyalty stands out first, and there are also honesty, disdain of pain and death, fearless and immediate obedience, and willingness to sacrifice everything for friend or feudal lord. The first story is easily the best. A humble servant is grossly mistreated by his master and vows revenge. His only recourse is to become a priest and thus poison the mind of those higher up against his master, now his enemy. Thirty years pass with no opportunity to wreak vengeance. In the meantime he has become a noted priest, the most learned and virtuous in the whole land. At last he finds himself in a position where he is able to ruin his old master, "But," to use his own words, "to my own astonishment I found that so vile a passion no longer existed in my nature—the desire for revenge had fled."

Northwestern University. EDMUND D. SOPER.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

A Wonderful Morning. By JAMES H. SNOWDEN (Macmillan, $1). This is a message not only for Easter but for the whole year. The argument for the Resurrection of Christ is based on the credibility of the witnesses, the testimony of Saint Paul, the history of the Church, and the Person of Christ. Inadequate explanations which tend to explain away this central event are searchingly exposed, and the deep spiritual meaning of this supreme achievement is clearly interpreted. It is an excellent summary of the faith in the living Christ. The triumphal entry did not take place on Tuesday but two days previously.

My Son. By CORRA HARRIS (Doran, $1.90). The difference between the circuit rider and his modern successor is picturesquely estimated in this story by one who invests the old times with a halo, somewhat to the

disadvantage of the present. The reminiscent mood pervades this narrative written by the wife and the mother of a preacher. Autobiographical observations, keen and at times witty, often interrupt the current of the story, but they are not the least attractive portions of this book. Methodists would do well to read this timely transcript from life.

The Portrait of the Prodigal. Life Studies in the Experiences of the Prodigal Son. By JOSEPH NELSON GREENE (Methodist Book Concern, $1.50). The matchless parable of the prodigal son contains the very marrow of the gospel. It is a veritable mirror of life. Dr. Greene has done a good service in bringing out its practical lessons, with illustrations from history and literature. No better book can be placed in the hands of a young man.

Short Egyptian Grammar. By Professor Dr. GÜNTHER ROEDER (Yale University Press, $2.50). Professor Samuel A. B. Mercer, of the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, has translated from the German the simplest and most modern handbook of this ancient language. The interest in Egyptology is growing. This highly compact treatise will enable the student to translate simple sentences from the hieroglyphics from the very first lesson. It is a book for beginners and includes grammar, vocabulary, and reading exercises. It should stimulate many young scholars to enter the fascinating fields, both of Egyptian archeology and of philology.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Harvard Theological Review. (April, 1921.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. The article by Preserved Smith on "A Decade of Luther Study" discloses a veritable flood of new light on the history and work of the great reformer. It is an indispensable *addenda* to Luther bibliography. Especially instructive, and sometimes amusing, is the contradictory attitude of modern critics on the relations of Luther to democracy, religious liberty, militarism, etc. One ends with the conviction that the Reformation was a real spiritual and social achievement. Benjamin W. Bacon's learned study on "The Chronological Scheme of Acts" is a worthy postscript to the article in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible on the "Chronology of the New Testament." This undenominational review is particularly valuable for its Biblical research material, especially in textual criticism.

The Personalist: a Quarterly Journal of Philosophy, Theology, and Literature. Published by the University of Southern California. (April, 1921.) Professor Yontz of Oberlin discusses "The Missing World," meaning thereby the moral world, out of which must come the invading forces that will save the social order. "Bertrand Russell and Spectacles Without Eyes," is an acute criticism on the mechanist theorists who know only a world of analytic process. It is cleverly and clearly written by Wilbur

Harry Long, assistant in philosophy in the University of Southern California. The editor, in an article on "Dogma in Science, Religion, and Life," does not defend dogmatism, but evaluates dogma as a necessary working hypothesis. Even criticism cannot work effectively without it.

Educational Review. (April, 1921.) This issue contains an able plea for placing Greek on the same basis as Latin in our colleges, by Haven D. Brackett of Clark College, Worcester. While admitting that students who expect to specialize in the Romance languages should elect Latin, he shows conclusively the more intimate relation of Greek to all culture and life. It might be added the Greek is not a dead language in the sense in which Latin is, and, moreover, that it is the sole basis of nomenclature in modern science as well as in the humanities.

The Methodist Quarterly Review. (April, 1921.) (Methodist Episcopal Church, South.) The leading article in this issue is by Dr. S. H. Wainright of Tokyo, Japan, on "Ministerial Orders and Reunion," which could well be read in connection with that in this number of our own REVIEW by Bishop Hughes on "The Lambeth Proposals." He shows ably that the issue is raised by the fundamental difference between the sacerdotal and the spiritual conception of religion. He applies this principle to two great historical cases, the controversy between Romanism and Anglicanism, and that between Anglicanism and Methodism. The political separation of the American colonies from Great Britain ended absolutely, not only the civil sovereignty of England, but the ecclesiastical authority of the Church of England. They were, as Mr. Wesley said, "at full liberty to follow the Scripture and the Primitive Church." What wonder that by a purely spiritual impulse they severed themselves from the entanglements of the British hierarchy? No church is historically and religiously more Catholic and Apostolic than Episcopal Methodism.

A READING COURSE

Jesus in the Experience of Men. By T. R. GLOVER. New York: Association Press. Price, $1.90.

A GOOD deal of our strong religious and theological thinking is being done by laymen. We think of Clutton Brock, Glover, Donald Hankey, Speer, Wilson—the author of a striking trilogy on "The Christ We Forget," "The Church We Forget," "The Vision We Forget." Among religious journalists our own James R. Joy occupies an enviable place of deserved preeminence. There is an advantage in getting the layman's point of view when it is marked by ability. It is generally more informal and free from theological terms, which often disguise poverty of thought. When such a layman is also familiar with the thought of the clergy, he is in a position to interpret the Christian message with refreshing directness and even independence.

This is true of Glover, who seems to know everything on his subject.

He is a lecturer in ancient history in the University of Cambridge, and his illustrations from the Greek and Latin classics, as well as from a wide range of literature, throw valuable light on his expositions of Christianity. His volume on The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire opened a rich field of knowledge of contemporary history. Another on The Christian Tradition and its Verification helps us to understand the background of the New Testament. The Jesus of History is a charming study of the mind of the Master. Jesus in the Experience of Men is the latest, and it furnishes answers to insistent questions of our day. It shows how completely the life and teachings of Jesus have reacted on mankind by introducing a new set of principles. The book is richly stimulating, and many preachers will find it intensely suggestive. Ample illustrations, vigorous reasoning, lucid writing help to make clear the central place of Jesus in human experience. In doing this he traces the long and slow process which led to this beneficial result.

The great ideas of Jesus had to be translated into the vernacular of the day. This implied a thorough grasp of them and a discipline in understanding. In a profound sense every preacher is a translator and an interpreter, for he expresses his own convictions with an adequate knowledge of the needs of those he addresses. The lack of equipment is thus a serious handicap, and our failure to think can never be supplied by our skill to organize. The institutional mind which is of the "quotational type" relies on precedents, but the inspirational mind has the prophetic vision of truth as a whole, both as to its content and its context. We are in too great a hurry and easily tire of thinking and even resent the labor of thought. This gives the quack his opportunity. Furthermore, "to think in a general way is a most fertile source of error," and "careless language always means loose thinking." What bearing does all this have on the work of preaching?

The questions which vexed the ancient world were, Is God many or one? Is he just? Can man have peace with God and be sure of it? Is man's personality secure, and for how long? In substance, these are our own questions and there will be discord so long as we do not grapple with facts but are content to say "Peace, peace," when there is no peace. Just as the early Christians faced the issues and adjusted the old and new, so must our intellectual, social, and spiritual issues be met with the same confidence in the ability of the Christian Gospel to meet them.

The strategic position of Jesus in the life of mankind is searchingly examined. He knew where the problems hurt, and his answers were so conclusive because of his unsurpassed hold on the centrality of God in his own experience. Indeed, Jesus is still ahead of us. He is the great correction to our thought about God and men. "Religion is only possible to the modern man along the lines of Jesus Christ."

There are two judgment seats: that of Pilate, which is symbolical of the partial and unreliable verdicts of an unregenerate world, and that of Christ, which is the finally definite and competent standard by which all life should be regulated. "Lack of the self-criticism which Jesus induces is one of the reasons for the comparative failure of the

Church to-day." Note how the problem of divine justice and the related problems of pain and suffering are discussed in chapter two. A later chapter on "The Revelation of God" returns to this subject. Jesus brought home to men his conviction of God by what he was in himself, so the conclusion is correct that, "if God really is like Jesus Christ, things are all right."

The chapter on "Saviours and Salvation" is a comparative study of the conception of salvation, as understood by the mystery religions and Christianity. There are also illustrations from Hindu religious thought. Salvation is a vague term. The Christian idea has never been a fixed one. "It has always tended to enlarge its scope as men have entered into the ideas of Jesus. He keeps opening the eyes of the church to larger vision of his meaning and of his thought." In what respects does Christianity offer salvation from fear, from the inward bias toward sin, from the wrath of God? The non-Christian religions promise deliverance by taking men out of the way of the wrath of God, while the marvel of the Christian message is that we receive it by being brought into the very heart of God. The means by which this is accomplished is discussed in the chapter on "The Lamb of God." A needed distinction is here made between metaphor and fact, between poetry and prose. The idea of sacrifice is also historically traced and its full meaning shown in the mind of Jesus, who revealed the love of God. Suffering is not alien to God but peculiarly his own, so that the Cross which is in the very heart of God is a challenge to every generation. The thought is further developed in the chapter on "The Forgiveness of Sins." Note the three aspects of sin as a record, a habit, and an act. Sufficient stress is not laid on the circumstances under which some are led into sin, and who are the helpless victims of the spoiler.

The unplumbed depths of personality were first unfolded by Jesus. How this bears on Immortality is well shown in a suggestive chapter, where the Greek ideas of life are contrasted with the more sublime ideas of Christianity. To the early Christians the conclusive argument for immortality was the Resurrection of Jesus and the inexhaustible conception of God mediated by the mind and experience of Jesus. What we think of this subject is conditioned by our Christology. Help in this direction is given in the chapter on "Alpha and Omega." Note how the idea of Christianity as essentially progressive is worked out.

The second part of this volume begins with chapter nine on "The Church Compromising." How true is the common complaint that the church does not lead the intelligence of mankind, and that it is not sympathetic with progress? To what extent is such a condition a virtual negation of belief in the Holy Spirit? What were the circumstances which resulted in the lapse of the church from spiritual freedom? How were sacramentalism and ecclesiasticism guilty of hastening this process? "All over the world and in every communion the church tends to be controlled by the established and the practical; and to these the spirit of Jesus cannot be congenial." Is this true? How then might we guard

against the perils of officialism and retain the essential freedom of spiritual truth? These and kindred questions are honestly faced in the chapter on "The Church Triumphant." The criticism is not reckless. Glover points out that, with fluctuations through the ages, the church has appealed to the higher elements in man, it has stood for Jesus and his supremacy, for the love of God, for the redemption of the world, for the faith that God plays fair with man, for the significance of the individual. "The church in her triumphs and her failures alike points to the reality and the permanent significance of Jesus." This conclusion is excellently substantiated in the chapters on "The Lordship of Jesus," and "The Friendship of Jesus."

The chapter on "The Humanizing of Life" is a criticism of the church because of its departures from the ideal of Jesus, and a commendation of Christians who followed close after him. Throughout this volume a plea is made for progressive Christianity and the argument is brought to a satisfactory conclusion in the last chapter on "The Reconciliation of Freedom and Religion." There is no simple gospel in the sense that it does not appeal to the intelligence and the spirit in an atmosphere of liberty, sincerity, independence, adventure, and faith. "The follower of Jesus is called to be a pioneer himself; and it is a common experience that one great feature of the Christian life is the constant feeling that there is more beyond." Let us assume our obligation as preachers and take possession of our possessions in the name of the timeless Christ.

Side Reading

The Faith of the New Testament. By Alexander Nairne (Longmans, Green & Co., $2.25). This study of the New Testament writings is out of the ordinary. They are given a historical setting and are also interpreted in view of later doctrinal developments. We must go forward from the simple gospel of Galilee to the fuller gospel of Paul and the far richer fullness of the Fourth Gospel. The unique spiritual value of the New Testament is that it keeps above the level of religious ideas which ordinary men could imagine for themselves. The work of interpretation must be done, not by imitation but in the same Spirit which inspired these holy oracles, and still works in and through receptive lives. Of special value, as bearing on Glover's book, is the chapter on "Renascence of Spirit through Letter."

For any information about books on subjects of interest to preachers, address this department, *Reading Course*, care of the Methodist Review, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Oscar L. Joseph.

WHO'S WHO IN THE REVIEW

Bishop Edwin Holt Hughes needs no introduction to our readers. In the true succession by holy heritage, by the choice of the church and divine endowment, he has the right to speak out on orders in the church.

Professor EDGAR S. BRIGHTMAN adds a necessary supplement to his article in the January issue.

HENRY S. BURTON, D.D., a well-known New Testament expositor, furnishes an excellent illustration for the editorial in this number on "The Divine-Human Bible."

JAMES HOWARD ROBINSON is professor of history in Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. The Rev. GEORGE M. BOICOURT is a Methodist minister at Parsons, Kan. Rev. RALPH W. SOCKMAN, Ph.D., the pastor of the Madison Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church in New York city, gives us a useful lesson for Independence Day.

HENRY BUTLER SCHWARTZ, D.D., is superintendent of Japanese work in the Methodist Hawaiian Missions, and furnishes necessary data for the solution of one of the most serious racial questions of to-day.

WILLIAM S. MITCHELL, D.D., formerly professor of evangelism in Boston University School of Theology, is now in charge of Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

ERNEST WARD BURCH is an instructor in Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

Professor J. NEWTON DAVIES of Drew Theological Seminary gives us a fresh view of Paul at Athens, and Dr. JOHN R. VAN PELT continues his convincing showing that many of the foremost younger German theologians have joined the anti-intellectualist ranks.

New names in the Arena and among the writers of Book Reviews are Professor IRWIN R. BEILER of Allegheny College, Dr. DANIEL MCGURK, Methodist pastor at Van Wert, Ohio, a well-known member in the last General Conference, and the Rev. WILBUR V. MALLALIEU, the pastor at Englewood, N. J. OSCAR L. JOSEPH, an expert appreciator of books, furnishes several notices, besides the material in the Reading Course.

The September issue of the METHODIST REVIEW will specialize on two subjects, that of Industrial Reconstruction and the Spiritistic Craze. On the first theme, articles will be furnished by Dr. DANIEL DORCHESTER, Professor HARRY F. WARD, and the Rev. KING D. BEACH of Grand Rapids, Mich. The "spook" question will be studied by Dr. GEORGE P. MAINS and the Rev. J. A. SCHAAD, a Protestant Episcopal clergyman of Bay City, Mich. Both problems will be presented from quite different standpoints by the various writers and will also receive editorial attention in the same number.

METHODIST REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1921

WILLIAM TAYLOR, THE GREATEST MODERN WORLD-HERALD OF THE CROSS

ELMER RILEY DILLE

Oakland, Cal.

WE are yet too near William Taylor to take his true measure. Such massive figures require the perspective of history. As Mount Shasta is most impressive and majestic when seen at a distance of forty miles, so William Taylor, lifted by translation into the company of the immortals, his rugged features softened by distance and time and transfigured by death, will be more and more of a commanding figure to the generations to come.

When Africa is redeemed, his name will shine in her firmament by the side of that of Livingstone; when India's millions are evangelized, his name will be among those of her apostles—William Carey, Henry Martyn, James M. Thoburn, and his own great son in the gospel, William F. Oldham; and South America will not forget its greatest pioneer of missions until the Gulf Stream loses its mysterious way, and the Southern Cross fades out of the sky.

And what does not California and the Pacific Coast owe to "California Taylor"? Among those who laid broad and deep the foundations of Christ's kingdom here, the name of William Taylor comes easily first. And those pilgrim fathers and mothers of the West were the real founders of California. God supplanted priest and peon with the pioneer that this virgin soil might not be overrun with the poisonous growths of superstition that have blighted Latin America. It was indeed a winnowed seed with

which God sowed the Golden West—a seed sifted through the perils of the desert, the stormy seas round Cape Horn, and the fever swamps of the Isthmus, and by the law of the survival of the fittest, only those reached here who had brain and brawn and physical and moral stamina—fit fathers and mothers for the crowning race of men.

The pioneers of California are fast passing away, and only a handful remain to see our state go forward to the imperial destiny which they with prophetic vision foresaw, when its tawny and untamed and virgin beauty was its only dower. There are only twenty-six names of survivors remaining upon the roll of the California Pioneers. William Taylor was a charter member, and his portrait has an honored place in Pioneer Hall in this city.

On the walls of the Public Library in San Francisco are to be seen the mural paintings executed by the great artist Frank Vincent DuMond for the Panama Pacific Exposition. The panels are forty-seven feet long, and twelve feet high, and represent the pioneer spirit of the continent, the march of civilization from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They have a narrative quality which is novel in mural art. The westward bound procession leave behind them the New England meetinghouse, shown in the background, but the pilgrims take with them the Preacher, the Jurist, the Teacher, and the Home. Some of the figures in these panels are portraits; the preacher is not the monk, Junipero Serra, whose statue stood welcoming the world at the gates of the Panama Pacific Exposition, but William Taylor—a figure as striking as that of Michel Angelo's Moses. The great painter who came here to make his historical studies six months before the Exposition recognized him as the artistic and natural embodiment of the moral forces that made this commonwealth civilized, American, and Christian. Those great paintings cost the Exposition $60,000, and an offer of $250,000 has been refused for them, and they are here to-day an inalienable treasure of California.

I. William Taylor, the Man

He had a good heredity. We never know a man until we know his ancestors, and when we know them we know the man;

and the converse of that proposition is true, every man may say: "He that hath seen me hath seen my father also."

William Taylor's grandfather and four brothers came from County Armagh, Ireland, before the Revolution, and invested in land and slaves in Rockbridge County, Virginia, in approved F. F. V. fashion. They were specimens of that hardy, energetic race, the Scotch-Irish of the old Covenanter breed. They all fought for freedom in the War of the Revolution. James Taylor, William's grandfather, married a daughter of Capt. Audley Paul, who was a fellow lieutenant of George Washington in Braddock's army. As fast as the descendants became slave-holders by inheritance they manumitted their slaves, the last of them being freed by Stuart Taylor, the father of William, he being the youngest of fourteen children.

It required the union of the Scotch and Irish strains in his blood to produce William Taylor. To his Scotch strain he owed the steadiness and sturdiness of his temperament, the granite of his character, and from the Irish strain came that fervid imagination, that pathos and humor and Celtic fire that made him ever the master of assemblies. Henry Ward Beecher was fond of saying that a man's training should begin one hundred years before he was born, and that is happily illustrated in William Taylor; he inherited from both the paternal and maternal sides the habit of abstemious living, the physical vigor and the iron constitution that enabled him to bear burdens, endure hardships, and perform tasks that would have killed a half dozen ordinary men.

1. He was a great man physically; he stood over six feet in his stockings, broad-shouldered, with spare frame, but with legs and arms muscled and thewed to throw the world. I heard him say forty years ago, "I am nothing but skin and bones, but put me on the scales and I will tip them at 200 pounds." He used to say, swinging a muscular arm, "I feel as though I could put my fist through a deal board." On one occasion when J. M. Thoburn met him at a railway station, Thoburn said, "Brother Taylor, you look tired." "Tired? No," said he, and he picked up Thoburn as though he had been a kitten and walked the platform with him. He walked once to the Abadrinath shrine on the summit of the

Himalayas, twenty thousand feet above the sea, and in 1894, when he was seventy-three, he walked over four hundred miles into the interior of Africa on his visit to Angola.

2. He was a great man intellectually. He did not have much of the learning of the schools, but he read much and thought long and profoundly on most theological subjects, and was well versed in history and literature. He had a wonderful memory and could repeat whole hymns and chapters of Scripture and long poems with wonderful facility. The intellectual fertility and creative power of the man are seen in the quantity and quality of the literature he produced—twelve considerable volumes, prepared amid incessant preaching, planning, organizing, while traveling three hundred thousand miles by land and sea, crossing the equator thirty-four times. His literary style, like his preaching, was as clear as a sunbeam. When he published his Seven Years' Street Preaching, Dr. Abel Stevens suggested that Dr. W. P. Strickland, who assisted in getting out the book, might improve its literary style, but Taylor said he "always appeared in public in his own clothes," and so, fortunately for the book, its thoughts are clothed in his own homely and homespun attire.

3. But above all he was a colossal man spiritually. No man since Paul had a deeper insight or a broader vision. It was said of Cecil Rhodes that he thought in continents, but Taylor thought in world-terms and wrought by continents, and he will be remembered when the great empire builder is forgotten. From the Punjab to Cape Comorin, from Cairo to Capetown, from Callao to Cape Horn, the voice that waked the echoes in old Portsmouth Square sounded like the voice of the Apocalyptic angel flying through the midst of heaven having the everlasting gospel to preach.

From the mountain peaks of Christian faith he saw the Americas, Australasia, Africa, India, the world as his parish, and he made it his parish in actuality as Wesley did in a more limited way.

He was in faith an Abraham: an Enoch walking closely with his Lord.
In integrity a Daniel, fearless both in deed and word;
In his loving heart a David; in his world-wide labors Paul;
In his holy consecration, he was peer among them all.

II. His Career

The first Methodist preachers sent hither by our church were William Taylor and Isaac Owen, who came in 1849 as missionaries to California, the first named by steamer round the Horn in one hundred and fifty-five days, and the second by oxteam across the plains. Owen preached his first sermon under the trees in Grass Valley, and on the same Sunday, September 23, 1849, Taylor preached his first sermon in San Francisco. A portable church had been shipped from Baltimore to San Francisco by Taylor's friends for his use, but Superintendent Roberts sent that "Baltimore-California chapel," as it was called, to Sacramento, and sent the material for a church for San Francisco from Oregon, but that church was not completed till three weeks after Taylor's arrival.

The pioneer preacher had to find a home in San Francisco for his family, and the housing problem was even more acute than it is now. Any habitable building brought a monthly rental of from $400 to $500, and just then no house was to be had at any price. Taylor's stipend had been fixed by the Mission Board at $750 a year; all the infant church of a dozen people could raise for the parsonage was $26, but a pioneer Methodist preacher was nothing if not resourceful. There were redwood trees in the Sausal Cañon back of Oakland, and Taylor went to the embarcadero at the head of Lake Merritt, took a whipsaw, ax, broadax, and drawknife back into that cañon, felled two redwood trees seven feet in diameter, and from them made timber, shakes, and shingles for the pioneer parsonage. Of course all the material could not be gotten out in the woods, but he made three thousand shingles and traded them for the joists and other framework of the building, which was a story and a half high, and which stood until it was destroyed by the 1906 fire.

Taylor spent seven years in an aggressive evangelistic campaign which is without its parallel since apostolic times. His voice sounded like the trumpet of the archangel through the streets of this godless, lawless city of mushroom growth, and in the melange of rough miners, gamblers, refugees, and beachcombers of ten countries and fifteen races, who had gathered in

what had so recently been the sand dunes of Yerba Buena. Sunday after Sunday he preached with that marvelous voice which, like Whitefield's, could be heard a mile away, and sang, his gracious and heroic wife accompanying him:

> Hear the royal proclamation,
> The glad tidings of salvation,
> Publishing to every creature,
> To the ruined sons of nature
> Jesus reigns, he reigns victorious,
> Over heaven and earth most glorious,
> Jesus reigns.

Who can tell what the result might have been had he not appeared in that formative era, that nascent period of this commonwealth, "when the rudiments of empire were plastic yet, and warm; when the chaos of a mighty world was rounding into form"? He dared to preach the gospel out of doors in the plaza which is now Portsmouth Square, which was then the very scuppers of hell, for it was the center of the saloons and gambling houses and dancing houses, and he did it as tactfully and more successfully than Paul did in Athens many centuries before. In that seven years' campaign of outdoor preaching he molded life not only in San Francisco but in every mining town and camp in California. How many a pioneer who has borne to his grave the white flower of a blameless life would have died as the fool dieth and would now be sleeping in a dishonored grave had not William Taylor put the silver trumpet to his lips in "the days of old, the days of gold, the days of '49."

William Taylor was one of the charter members of the California Conference, and while he was carrying forward his street preaching campaign, he was the pastor of the Methodist Church. He came out here by appointment of Bishop Waugh, but he was drawn to this field by the advice and counsel of Father Taylor of Boston, the great apostle to the seaman, who was a dear personal friend, and who asked him to "look after his sailor boys in San Francisco." Accordingly, with the approval of our church authorities he founded the Seamen's Bethel; but there came the fire of 1855 in which the building was reduced to ashes, and then

came the panic, and the result was that Mr. and Mrs. Taylor were left with an obligation of $40,000, they having gone security for that amount in building and maintaining the enterprise. At the Conference of 1856, held in San Jose, he asked for and obtained leave of absence that he might publish his books in order to pay that $40,000, for he made and sold books as Paul did tents. He never took a collection, but he paid off the last dollar of that indebtedness from the sale of his books, and while he was disposing of them he was one of the great torchbearers in the revival of 1857 which swept America like a prairie fire, and was the Mount of Transfiguration which prepared the church for the casting out of the twin devils of Slavery and Secession.

In 1857 Taylor was persuaded by some of his friends to go to Australia, their pleas being reenforced by a clear call which came to him as he took the question to God in prayer. He spent seven months in Great Britain on his way to the Antipodes. The work in Australia was continued two and a half years. Over five thousand souls were converted there under his ministry. Once about thirty years ago the question was asked in an Australian Conference, how many of the preachers were the spiritual sons of William Taylor, and thirty-five, or one third of the members of Conference, rose.

In 1865 Taylor went to Africa. This was his first grapple with heathenism, and seven thousand Kaffirs were converted. Here he made the acquaintance of that dark and savage race upon whom he was to bestow eighteen years of his eventful life. Asbury, America's first itinerant, lives in history as the "Prophet of the Long Road." Henry M. Stanley said of Taylor, "He was the God-chosen man for Africa." In Angola there was a terrible water famine, for the people had to carry water long distances, but he taught them to dig wells, and his name among the Ambundu is still "The Well-Digger." The Zulus called him "The Flaming Torch," the natives in Liberia "The Long Walker." Already this Methodist preacher had acquired an influence which went beyond the limits of his own church and his own land and inspired Christendom. By the blessing of God upon powers providentially trained and absolutely devoted, an energy that was tireless and re-

sistless, a faith whose audacity invited but never deserved the epithet, fanatical, he was already the greatest Methodist since Wesley, the greatest missionary since Paul. His work in Africa is not to be measured by statistics. For eighteen years he held Africa and its millions upon the heart of the church, and his work there will live till this old earth feels the jarring tread of the archangel.

William Taylor was not an organizer or administrator; he was a pioneer. He blazed pathways through the veldt, the jungle, the wilderness, and left the work of organization to those who should follow him. He threw across Africa the first line of defense, the chain of mission stations that to-day is checking the Moslem hordes that, sweeping down upon pagan Africa, would enroll 80,000,000 pagans under the crescent of Islam.

In 1870 our "Giant of the Seven League Boots," at the call of Dr. James M. (now Bishop) Thoburn, went to India. He let loose the gospel with Methodist methods and a Methodist message in the Indian empire and all Southern Asia, a region now mapped out in numerous Conferences. He founded self-supporting churches in seven great centers like Calcutta, Lucknow, Bombay, Poona, Madras, and Allahabad. Worthy names bound up with the history of Methodism were the fruits of that campaign, Oldham, Osbourne, Dense, Gilder. He revisited India in the early eighties, strengthening his missions there. He found Methodism cribbed, cabined, and confined by comity to two provinces in India, and out of his work there grew seven strong Conferences.

III. His Episcopacy

In the General Conference of 1884, the Committee on Episcopacy unanimously recommended the election of a Missionary Bishop of Africa. On May 21st, at the forenoon session, the Conference adopted the report and made the election of a Missionary Bishop the order of the day for the afternoon at two o'clock, ten minutes being allowed for nominations. Dr. H. C. Benson, a delegate from California, nominated William Taylor, who sat in the Conference as a lay delegate from North India. His name had long been a household word in Methodism, for he had for a quar-

ter of a century been the most conspicuous figure in our church, and from California and Canada, from England and Australia, Africa, India, and South America came the report that he had won more converts by his personal ministry than any man in modern times. But he was not exactly *persona grata* to the conservative element of the General Conference. He had been somewhat erratic and unconventional in his methods; he was too big to be bound by official and ecclesiastical red tape. Having some time previously located, he was now footloose and could go anywhere. It was even suggested that he took a location that he might be free from episcopal authority. Like John Wesley, Hugh Price Hughes, and William Booth, he was a puzzle to ecclesiastical and official conservatism.

When Taylor was nominated that day, Bishop Wiley said to Dr. A. B. Leonard, who was not then a church official, "Is it possible that they are going to elect Taylor Missionary Bishop?" And Dr. Leonard, the grand old Roman, replied, "It looks very much like it," and he added, "If he is elected you bishops ought to be thankful, for you have not been able to control his movements; when you have assigned him to a field he has generally taken ship and gone possibly to the other side of the world; if he is elected, only the General Conference will have jurisdiction over him, and you will be relieved of responsibility." And Bishop Wiley grimly replied, "Well, there is something in that."

The nomination of William Taylor as the logical man, the only man, God's man, was like a flash of lightning out of a clear sky, and as thunder follows lightning there rose a storm of enthusiasm and approval that was irresistible. Dr. Curry and others in vain strove to stem the tide, but they might as well have tried to hold back Niagara, for on the first ballot Taylor was elected by a vote of 250 to 44 over his nearest competitor. He had won the highest honor the church could bestow by the arduous greatness of things achieved. Like Wesley, William Booth, and Hugh Price Hughes, he lived to look blandly down from the serene height of high achievement upon those who had misunderstood and blindly opposed him.

"William Taylor is elected bishop of Africa" was the word

that put new life, new inspiration, new hope into the hearts of our missionaries and missions in the Dark Continent. He lifted the Methodist Episcopal Church out of the pent-up Utica of Liberia, and made the Congo a river of salvation bearing into the heart of Africa the gospel of Christ. Bishop Taylor's success in that office was such as to give the Missionary Episcopacy a new lease of life, so that the number of Missionary Bishops increased from one in 1884 to seven in 1916, during which period two had died and one resigned.

The General Conference of 1896 relieved Bishop Taylor from Episcopal responsibilities, but despite his advanced age and frail health he gave two years more to his beloved Africa, and then returned to California to wait by the Golden Gate until there should open for him the gates of gold.

May I enter for a little time the Holy of holies of Bishop Taylor's home life? Nowhere was he greater than in his private life. Few men had such power of giving and receiving affection. He was married to Miss Annie Kimberlin in October, 1846, and to the end of life he gave her a lover's chivalrous devotion. And Mrs. Taylor, who was to him "honey" and "sweetheart" to the last, was never a clog upon an upward wing. Their marriage was one of those rare and beautiful companionships to which death itself can set no bounds. Mrs. Taylor might have sat for that portrait of a good woman in the 31st of Proverbs, for it describes her exactly, and when the crowns are given out, she will share in the abundant reward of the great missionary whose crown is gemmed with stars like the Milky Way, for

> He with his sword in battle,
> She at their home in prayer,
> Both wrought to win the victory,
> Both shall the glory share.

His children were tenderly, almost passionately loved. His journals teem with expressions of anxiety for their welfare, and pride in their achievements. His oldest son Stuart accompanied his parents to California in 1849, and nearly two years ago his form was laid beside theirs in beautiful Mountain View. A little

daughter born at sea and named "Oceana," and a little son, were early taken to the Good Shepherd's embrace. His only surviving son, Hon. Edward K. Taylor, is an honored and distinguished citizen of Alameda, having been twice mayor of the city. I received Mr. Taylor into the church in his early manhood, and have been his pastor three years, and have been deeply touched by his filial devotion to the memory of his great father and his gracious mother, in whose memory he has placed a massive monolith above their precious dust, and in whose honor he has given the church the magnificent plot in Mountain View which shall be a Mecca, a shrine for pilgrims from all his father's world-wide parish while time endures.

During the last days of our hero's life he was "As one who wanders down the dim lit forest aisles with brooding eyes and reverent slow feet." His friends could not quite go with him in the gathering shadows, for our eyes were holden from the visions that enthralled him, but those who attended him said that those Beulah Land days were the happiest of his life. He was living in the past, hearing the hermit thrush on his father's farm, shouting over the triumphs of his ministry, and holding sweet converse with his Saviour and with those he had loved since and lost awhile. To him the dear family circle was already unbroken, and Oceana and Willie, and Osman and their mother, as well as Stuart and Ross and Charles and Edward, were about him. And one sweet May-day he died into glory "as the stars die at sunrise," as the black folk said of David Livingstone.

This is the hundredth birthday of William Taylor.[1] For nearly a score of years all that was mortal of him has rested in Mountain View, the Nebo vale at the foot of the Pisgah from which he surveyed a wider and fairer heritage than Moses ever saw. But William Taylor is not dead; his spirit is vital throughout Christendom. He lives in San Francisco and Sidney and Melbourne and Bombay and Calcutta and Singapore, in Callao and Valparaiso, in Capetown and Inhambane, and he will be as

[1] William Taylor was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, May 2, 1821, entered the Baltimore Annual Conference in 1843, was consecrated as Missionary Bishop at Philadelphia in 1884, and died at Palo Alto, California, May 18, 1902.

much at home in the twenty-fifth as in the twentieth century, for he is a plumed chieftain in the shining company of those who "have forgotten themselves into immortality."

> Such was he; his work is done,
> But while the races of mankind endure
> Shall his great example stand,
> Colossal, seen of every land,
> Till in all lands, and through all human story,
> The path of duty be the way to glory.

To-day we bend over his grave in Mountain View a triumphal arch, and write upon it in letters of fire for our time and after times to read: "William Taylor, the Greatest Modern World-Herald of the Cross."

WHICH WAY WILL METHODISM GO?

HARRY F. WARD
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THE current attack upon religious organizations for their utterances concerning industry may prove to be the parting of the ways for the modern churches. That attack has two aspects. It is designed to stop preachers from meddling with the practical conditions and relations of industry. It also aims to slow up or halt the inquiry of the advance guard of organized Christianity concerning the essential nature of a Christian social order.

If it should succeed in either of these objectives extremely serious consequences would result, both for the church and for the world. At present the economic world is a broken warfare between various factions. The economic world of to-morrow must find at least a measure of unity or that to-morrow will not be worth living in. The search then is to find the common interest and organize around it. It, therefore, goes without saying that the church whose utterance and policies can be dictated by the dominant economic faction for the time being will have small part in the new world that is now making. It will be only the temporary court chaplain in an unstable regime. Also it will have thrown away its commission to stand above the conflicts of mankind for the solidarity of humanity, and left the world in its hour of supreme need to lose the way of life through trusting itself to the outcome of a struggle of self-interests.

The heart of the matter is, of course, the independence and spiritual authority of the pulpit, and they go together. The attempt to prevent the ministry from critically examining the very foundations of the present social order in the light of the teaching of Jesus because their findings might require fundamental changes in political and economic organization is an effort to eliminate the prophetic function from the church. Should it succeed it would blockade organized religion from the greater part of modern life and make the church an increasingly unnecesary

luxury for the comfort of non-combatants in the economic conflict which engrosses so much of current energy. Also it would leave mankind in a dying world order with no message of life from constituted spiritual authority. In short the demand is that the forces of religion sit down and endeavor to sing themselves away to everlasting bliss while the forces of self-interest in the economic and governmental world continue unconsciously to work out the damnation of the world and take the church to perdition with them.

So far the attack upon the prophetic function of the church is only a minor incident in the day's work of organized Christianity. The forces engaged in it are only a handful of professional propagandists and a little larger group of "hard-boiled" industrialists. The propagandists are compound patriot-parasites, and it would take a laboratory test to tell where the patriotism ends and the parasitism begins. Their wartime activities involved no greater danger than the rupture of a blood vessel from the making of much noise and in the quieter days of peace the easiest way for men of their caliber to continue in soft living is to scare the rich into providing them with funds to prevent a revolution which impends nowhere in this country save in their own overheated imaginations. The "red-blooded" industrialists are a faction who also by present circumstances have acquired strength far beyond their weight. They are the group which believes in and practices the control of industry by coercion. The opportunity provided them by the after-war liquidation of industry has gone a little to their heads until they have come to imagine that they can run the church as they run their factories and mills.

The propagandists, true to their nature and calling, have used the methods of exaggeration, distortion, and omission in their statements. The industrialists, equally true to their spirit and estate, have tried to put on the screws. By dint of industriously and expensively circulating typically false reports of spies, garbled reports of speeches, and quotations from writings taken apart from their qualifying context and dexterously twisted from their face meaning by comment and interpretation, the propagandists have achieved a measure of success in making even open-

minded and forward-looking business men and middle-of-the-road ecclesiasts believe that certain church leaders are dangerous, or unsafe, or at least unbalanced and injudicious. In this they have been ably assisted by some church editors.

But there are limits to what can be achieved by such methods. The truth will out. You cannot fool even many of the people all the time. The atmosphere which has been peculiarly favorable to the success of a campaign of misrepresentation is giving place to cooler, clearer air. People are beginning to call for facts instead of battle cries, and those who have been assailing the advance guard of Christianity have never yet produced the facts. They are, therefore, finding it more expedient to stop charging the advocates of social Christianity with ignorance and to redouble the cry of "Bolshevism." But even this dread alarm cannot much longer be sustained without the facts. When no wolf appears even the sheep at last refuse to be disturbed by the cry.

The success of the belligerent industrialists in their attempt to coerce religious organizations by cutting off subscriptions, and they have achieved quite a little, also shows signs of waning. If they had possessed moderation enough simply to say, "We are opposed conscientiously to your program and cannot support it," they would have had a case strong enough to influence a large number of business men of more democratic spirit. But when they indicated that their subscriptions would be forthcoming if policies were changed they began to lose their influence even in the business world. There are steel men to-day who admit that their industry was long due for the judgment voiced in the Interchurch report and respect accordingly those who had the intelligence and the courage to render it. From such men organized religion will receive more financial support, not less. So that it may safely be predicted that in a short time present losses in religious funds due to the attitude of the church to industry will be more than made good because of that very attitude. To this may be added the judgment that when the propagandists for autocratic industry delivered themselves of the characteristic opinion that the attitude of preachers would be different if only their salaries were raised, and offered to help do it, they aroused the resentment

and stirred the self-respect of numbers of preachers throughout the land, so that there will be more, and not less, preaching on the social interpretation and application of Christianity as a result of their campaign.

If the present attack upon the independence of the pulpit were confined to the direct form, if it were simply a question of keeping quiet about un-Christian industrial conditions or not getting subscriptions, it would not be worth this much comment. In any such contest the Methodist pulpit will give a good enough account of itself. It has the tradition of pioneer preachers who were afraid of no man. It has done its share in fighting the liquor traffic. It has the advantage of the itinerancy and connectionalism. This means that where it is influenced at all it feels more the viewpoints of district and general superintendents than the preferences of the laity, so that those who desire to use the Methodist Episcopal Church to buttress the present economic order will do well to cultivate officialdom, where that is necessary. Of course the indirect method will have to be employed, but this is no news to those who have the wisdom of serpents but not the harmlessness of doves. Still there are plenty of indications that the chance of success is not what it was before a knowledge of social and industrial questions in their bearing upon the future of Christianity was a part of the training of the ministry.

A surer, quicker way to influence the Methodist pulpit is to raise general battle cries that have a strong moral and emotional appeal, for the emotionalism which is the strength of Methodism is on occasion also her weakness. This is true also, in a measure, of the rank and file of other large denominations. That is why those who are at present endeavoring to halt the progress of Christianity have concealed their attack behind a smoke screen of terms like "Americanism" and "revolution." When the facts are all read into the record it will be clear beyond a peradventure that not a few churchmen who pride themselves upon being "progressives" have been called into the defense of their country against Bolshevism when the ultimate objective of the forces they have joined has been the discrediting of the steel strike report, the putting through of the open shop drive and the prevention of the

very legislation for which these same progressives a few years since went singing to Armageddon.

In the broad this present attempt to limit the function of the ministry may be the last protest of a period of ruthless individualism in economic activity against the moral restraints of a forming collective judgment, which the pulpit is beginning to voice. On the other hand, it may be the beginning of a more serious effort to devitalize Christianity. It may indicate that capitalism in its later stages is inherently compelled to attempt what radicals in the labor world have long, but mistakenly as recent events show, declared that it had already accomplished, namely, to use the church as the spiritual defender of the present economic order by providing it with funds for its many benevolent and educational enterprises.

If this is the meaning of present events then the church now stands toward imperialistic capitalism as it once stood toward imperialistic Rome. It has the opportunity of alliance for the sake of accomplishing much immediate good. There is this difference. The modern church faces this issue of alliance with or separation from the ruling powers of this world with a knowledge of the nature and consequences of the issue which the ancient church did not possess. A large section of the ministry and not a few of the laity know the historic consequences of the alliance of Christianity with the Roman state, know also that the terms of any alliance between modern Christianity and the present form of capitalism would be in essence the same, and would entail the same consequences on a larger scale. For the sake of enlarging its practical activities the church would assume the inevitableness of the present economic order and trouble no more about its un-Christian features. It would then be the sacrifice of the prophetic function of the church in favor of its ecclesiastical aspects. Suppose this issue becomes absolute! Suppose that for a time only one function of the church can be kept free or alive, that either its institutions or its prophetic spirit must go to prison or to death. Does what Jesus told his disciples about not fearing those who could put the body in prison but could not destroy the soul hold good for the corporate body of the church? Suppose this issue of

the relationship of religion to the economic order proves the sword of division for the modern churches, separating those who stress the ecclesiastical and mystic aspects of religion from those who emphasize its prophetic and ethical functions, so that on one side stand those who will cultivate only an other-worldly religion and leave the organized relations of human society outside the sphere of the church and on the other side those who at any cost will seek to develop the kingdom of God upon the earth. On which side of that line will Methodism stand? Or will such a line run clear through it and cleave it as it was cleft over the slavery issue?

In that issue economic self-interest played its part on both sides, in varying degree, and as always in its connection with religion it operated indirectly and unconsciously. But with the ripening of an economic order which depends upon selfishness for its mainspring self-interest plays ever a more conscious part in economic affairs. If this issue of whether or not the pulpit is to speak the whole truth committed unto it concerning profit and property, or nationalism and war, is to be decided by religious bodies by the pull of economic self-interest, consciously or unconsciously, which way would Methodism be pulled by that force?

The people called Methodists are now largely of the middle class. There is a sprinkling of industrial wage earners and a small representation of finance. The bulk of the strength is rural and small-town. This section has long had an economic grievance against the financial world and its control of credit, transportation, and distribution. The small business men, the salaried and professional people who make up most of our city membership, are fast finding out that the present economic arrangements are pinching them and their children as they have long been squeezing the industrial wage-earner. Therefore the economic interest of our constituency is likely to incline them in the direction of applying the principles of the gospel to the economic situation without stint or limit, as long ago the same conjunction of economic interest and religious idealism met in the prophets of Israel. Indeed, Methodism will face a much graver problem in the struggle of the farmers for economic emancipation than it has met in the case of the industrial wage-earners.

Because of their economic status, Methodists are not likely to be long kept from finding out what the gospel means in the ordering of economic activities by the cry of "revolutionary tendencies." They may be delayed for a time if the guardians of the present order can succeed in creating among them the illusion of the property mind, that is, can make them believe that the pursuit of the gospel would encourage movements hazardous to their small savings. But the present order is fast working such havoc with the economic security of the middle class that this practical provocation, which the profit-seekers seem unable to forbear, will more than outweigh their counsels not to touch the ark of the profit system.

There is one factor, however, that may modify what would otherwise be the natural working out of the situation. We have with us a section of the industrial employing interest, and they and their legal representatives have managed to achieve more influence than their strength warrants. They have time and means to serve as delegates to various gatherings. They have capacity for leadership that has been used on the whole to advance the interests of the church and the Kingdom. This very fact has enabled their economic interest at times to make itself felt in our policies, directly and indirectly. It was one of this group who said to another after the General Conference of 1916 struck the "preferential" principle out of its committee statement on organized labor, "Well, we drew the teeth out of it." As a matter of fact the result was due not to their opposition but mostly to a fortuitous emotional incident. In 1920 this interest sought to modify the stand previously taken on the social and industrial question. A revelation of their point of view is that their proposed statement spoke of the living wage as philanthropy. An indication of the trend of their purpose is that they proposed to take out of the utterance of the General Conference the following: "The church must therefore clearly teach the principle of the fullest possible cooperative control and ownership of industry and of the natural resources upon which industry depends in order that men may be spurred to develop the methods that shall adequately express this principle." They are for reform, but they do not want anything

said by the church, or by anyone in any capacity, that would give outsiders the impression that the church was being represented, which calls before the bar of the Christian conscience the fundamentals of the competitive profit system.

The largest score made by this interest is not their own but is the result of a strange combination in which ecclesiastical politics and church business enterprises had operated in one direction and the push of the profit system in another. It is the fact that no religious publishing house is now issuing any thoroughgoing books on Christianity and the social question. The interdenominational organizations have been slowed up by the propagandist drive against the writers of this school of thought, but the denominational houses did not have to be halted. Those of them that began had stopped years ago. On the other hand, commercial publishing houses are freely issuing books that go to the roots of the economic problem. Our press and publishing house has the distinction of putting out matter which has been appropriated by the propagandists for an unchanged industrial order in an effort to resist some of the practical reforms demanded by our official declarations. The publishing account, however, is more than balanced by the material in religious education published in recent years by the church houses.

In view of the exposure of the rising generation to this educational material, those within and without the church who now seek to halt the forces of Christianity in their search for the City of God are not likely to carry their point, though there is an alliance forming which will give them more strength if it eventuates. The theological conservatives, particularly the pre-millenarians, are on the heresy hunt. They are joining hands with the economic stand-patters among the laity in the name of a more spiritual church, that is, a church which will relieve both sides to this compact of the necessity of working out the gospel in a difficult world. Considerable funds are available for propaganda in the attempt to purge the church at one and the same time of the New Theology and Socialism, the former being supposedly responsible for the latter, and the latter meaning anything except stalwart Republican doctrine of the vintage of the nineties. It is

true that men trained to-day to use the scientific method are likely to use it in applying the gospel to the social situation, but not a few theological conservatives are social radicals and most of the Unitarians are not conspicuous for questioning the ethics of capitalism. So that those who plan this twofold heresy hunt are likely to get considerably mixed before they get through. They are not likely to go very far in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The theological conservatives have shown no significant strength in recent General Conferences. The social reformists who would like the church to retract some sayings that go further than mere reform had their most favorable atmosphere at Des Moines and lacked either strength or nerve, or both, to accomplish their desire. It will get more difficult for them with every year that passes. They cannot halt the church without splitting its forces. And it is youth and the future they will drive out. Have they sufficient conviction for this?

But the issue of whether there shall be metes and bounds set to the message and function of the church will not be settled on the ground of economic self-interest. There are economic affinities in religion, but they do not always meet. The doctrine of free grace is the natural spiritual point of view for those whose practical need is freedom of economic opportunity. It is the religion of the downmost people all over the world and the church that carried it to them is obligated to help them translate it into social action and organization. The doctrine of election naturally attracts those who at least have made their earthly calling sure. But the most important movement in the modern churches has crossed these barriers. It is the missionary movement which is gradually uniting Christendom in a great spirit of service and sacrifice, making the Cross not a mere doctrine, but a great spiritual fact in the modern world, and gradually making it impossible for the modern Christian to think and act on any plane lower than the interest of the whole human family. If the missionary movement can go through to its completion, the power of economic self-interest will be cast out of contemporary religion and a serving, sacrificial church will lead a torn and bleeding humanity to the oneness of the Father's heart.

Methodism has borne a sufficient part in the missionary movement to qualify for some leadership in the search for a social order resting upon solidarity of interest and purpose and not upon a chaotic jumble of conflicting partial interests. She also has two historic doctrines whose heritage should count strongly in the same direction. They are the doctrines of conversion and holiness. The Methodists of Canada have used them both with much power in the most thoroughgoing statement issued by any church body of this continent concerning the meaning of Christianity in the social order.

Here is the final point of division. Does the social order need to be born again, like the individual? That is, does it need a new life, with different motives and ends? This does not mean any one form of change, as modern Methodism has found out in the case of the individual, but it does mean one general form of life, even that which was in Christ Jesus. Has our recognition of the possibility of the developmental unfolding of the new life dulled our perception of the essential nature of that new life? Emphasis upon conversion certainly does not mean faith without works, for Methodism at its best has always united the ethical emphasis with the stress upon justification by faith. It gave its first members both the joy of a great assurance and a discipline for the improvement of life. It then sent them onward toward perfection, training them into a practical force for the spread of scriptural holiness throughout the land. Apply either of these doctrines to the social order and where do they put the people called Methodists in the division between the Christians who want the church to leave economic affairs alone and those who seek to Christianize the economic order along with all the rest of life?

If Methodism is to be anything more than a name from which the glory has departed, those who bear that name will proclaim the necessity of conversion for the social order as well as for the individual life until it too is transferred from a self-centered to a God-centered life, carried on consciously for the benefit of all members of the race; they will continue the search for perfection knowing that to sit down content with the imperfections of modern life as individuals or society is to develop spiritual paralysis.

The one condition for admission to the first Methodist societies, "a desire to flee from the wrath to come and to be saved from their sins," has peculiar pertinence to the present situation in modern society. The sinfulness of some of its essential features is plain enough by this time, so that it is a matter of general admission far beyond the church. The wrath that is being stored up against the day of wrath by the continuance of this sinfulness is evidenced by recent and present happenings in Europe. It may be that once again a historic religious grouping will form around the conviction of social sinfulness and the consequent search for social salvation. In this case those who to-day have the spirit of Methodism should be able to carry its technique over into the new sphere of social consciousness and expression and help those who are seeking to escape the wrath and be saved from the sins of the present social order to find out what are the true fruits of this desire and what works are evidences of its continuance.

[Note by the Editor.—The Methodist preacher in dealing with social questions should be cautious in three particulars: 1. He must be scrupulously accurate in statements of facts, avoiding the gross perversions and misinterpretations of the propagandists. 2. He should gain a working knowledge of sociology. The Course of Study provides a text-book and adds for collateral reading a valuable work, The Church and Social Reconstruction, which not only the undergraduates but all our ministers should own and read. 3. The preacher should ground himself thoroughly in the religious and Scriptural basis for a new social order. Those who resent sermons on current industrial problems would have to keep silence as to an honest exposition of the prophet Amos, the Lord's Prayer or the Sermon on the Mount. The Prophets and the Evangelists will help the preacher to become a true prophet and evangelist. "Holiness to the Lord" must be written not only on the sacred vessels of the sanctuary but on all the tools of trade: not only on the bells of the priestly robe but on car and shop bells as well. Entire Sanctification means the consecration of all life, the social order as well as the individual life. So shall the Kingdom come!]

SOME "VAIN OPINIONS AND FALSE VALUATIONS"

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BACON, in his famous essay "Of Truth," asks: "Doth any man doubt that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginings as one would and the like, but it would leave the minds of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition and unpleasing to themselves?"

This question is as pertinent as it was three hundred years ago. The inveterate habit of men and nations to look upon themselves and the things which vitally concern them in a flattering likeness is still a powerful factor in human affairs. The greatest of all wars was a war of "vain opinions, flattering hopes and false valuations"; and every belligerent came out of it more or less "shrunken and full of melancholy." Pan-Germanism, in an effective fullness and evil consistency, revealed how hateful and destructive the Jingoism of England, the Chauvinism of France, and the Mammonism of the United States and other nations might become if unrestrained by spiritual forces and suffered to work out their horrid purposes.

"Every man," the Scripture saith, "walketh in a vain show." So does every nation. Four autocracies in Europe gloried in their power and presumption until they were cast down from their "bad eminence," and their vain pretensions were mocked by their tragic defeat. The revolting peoples, in turn, like Caliban in the play, drunk with the heady wine of freedom and flattering promises, have already "got new masters" and submit to despotism in its most depraved form. "A breathing time of peace" has given a world weary of war fond hopes of a League of Nations to avert war. But the beautiful ideals generated in the sacrificial zeal of battle are becoming dim, and the glorious victory won at the cost of so much blood and treasure is in danger of becoming sabotaged and lost in the contention of the victors.

The direst foes of every people are "those of its own household"—those that blur the mind, blind the judgment, inflame the passions, and intrigue the will. The inveterate enemies of mankind ever war against the essential truths by which men really live and upon which the safeguards of society built up by the wisdom and sacrifice of vast generations depend. Even those who profess to expound these sovereign truths often behold them with clouded vision and confound them with the errors steaming from the prejudices, passions, and interests in which mortals so largely have a feverish being. Bacon points out this strange perversity in human nature: "the mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure." It is "like alloy in coin of gold and silver, which makes the metal work the better, but embaseth it." The adulteration of truth to serve human bigotry and carnality is even more tempting and demoralizing than the debasement of currency in times of financial stress. "False valuations" and base substitutes drive "truth, the sovereign good of human nature," out of circulation in some such way as "bad money drives out good money." Speculation, not in stocks and commodities, which is comparatively harmless, but in the essential goods upon which the very well-being of individuals and commodities depends, runs riot and precipitates mental and moral bankruptcy.

Phrases and shibboleths pass current for truth and do a large business. Men see and accept as truth what they wish to see and accept, or what is popular with the political or social group to which they belong. A labor leader who had taken a course of study at a university said: "I have come to the conclusion that I have wasted the last ten years of my life talking shibboleths at the street corner; I did not know what I meant by them and my hearers did not know; I am now going back to examine my views." He was determined to be emancipated from the thralldom of phrases, which all persons experience who make no examination as to whether they are true. Dean Church said: "The call to be religious is not stronger than the call to see of what sort our religion is." The call to be loyal to church, country, class, or party is not stronger than the call to see of what sort such loyalty is.

The truths involved in the complex relations of capital and

labor are far less clearly discerned and generally practiced than those of ethics and politics. Even Economists after a hundred years of investigation and exposition confess that they have not as yet ascertained "the law that determines the stable equilibrium of work and wages." Much less have either employers or employees discovered the principles governing precisely a fair division of the profits of industry. Attempts at working agreements are often rendered abortive by the passions engendered by class warfare. The mutual misunderstandings and misrepresentations are continually stirring up strife and disrupting society.

Socialists in general and many social reformers commonly characterize the industrial system as feudal and contend that "captains of industry" oppress their workmen much as the lords did their serfs. Even John Spargo, one of the saner Socialists, declares that "The vast concentration of industry and wealth, resulting in immense fortunes on the one hand and terrible poverty on the other, has separated the two classes by a chasm as deep and wide as ever yawned between Czar and moujik, Kaiser and vagrant, prince and pauper, feudal baron and serf. The immensity of the power and wealth thus concentrated into the hands of the few, to be inherited by their sons and daughters, tends to establish this class division hereditarily."[1]

While industry, as now organized, is not a democracy, and probably will not become such in this generation, it is radically different from feudalism. Wealth is not conferred as a reward for military or political service. It is not distributed according to status, but by free contract. The hereditary rich as a class is comparatively negligible. There is no law of primogeniture or entail in industry. Very few of the ever-increasing number of millionaires inherited their wealth and still fewer keep it. Opportunity, while not equal, has been so great and diffused that nine tenths of the rich by their own exertions have climbed up the iron rounds of this much derided system. These retain their commanding position and wealth only by constant intelligence, vigilance, and prudence. Business dynasties are rare. "From shirt-

[1] Spargo, Socialism, page 141.

sleeves to wealth and back to shirtsleeves is only three generations," is a common saying.

The directing force of most corporations is vested in a group of persons who are seldom sons of the rich but those who have risen from the ranks and proved their ability to bear responsibilities. The ownership of these corporations is constantly becoming more widely distributed; wage earners in large numbers are becoming stockholders and are winning their right to a representation in the management.

There is no proletariat either here or in Europe as there was seventy years ago, when Karl Marx wrote his great book and predicted that this class would become so powerful that it would revolutionize society. There is no large class of persons who are without the franchise, without property or the right to organize for their own protection and advancement. By the aid of friendly legislation, education, and their own organizations, workmen have left far behind them the proletariat descended from an effete feudalism and perpetuated for a time by a crude industrialism. Even in England, where feudal features and an oppressive land system persist, Bagehot describes the present social system as one "of *removable inequalities,* where many people are inferior to and worse off than others, but in which each may in theory hope to be on a level with the highest below the throne and in which each may reasonably and without sanguine impracticability hope to gain one step in social elevation, to be at last on a level with those who at first were just above them."

"The poor ye have always with you." But the poor are proportionally far less numerous, hapless, and hopeless now than ever before. Capitalism prevents poverty rather than produces it. Ignorance, improvidence, and vice are the prolific sources of pauperism. The casualties inseparable from the struggle for survival, which has been the law of life and progress from the beginning, continually add to the social wreckage. The prosperity and perpetuity of society depend upon its success in reducing these casualties to the minimum. Upon the State, the Church, and the School, even more than upon the Industrial System, rests the responsibility to provide such ministries and establish such condi-

tions as shall enable the largest possible number to lead free, self-respecting, secure lives.

Another misrepresentation of capitalism is the contention of Karl Marx and others that "labor is the sole cause of value" and that capital is the exploitation of the surplus received for a common product above that paid for wages. This fallacy, though exposed notably by Bernstein, a follower of Marx, and also by many economists, is constantly reiterated by labor agitators and many social reformers. Labor is the primary cause of value and a most important factor in production. But natural forces, raw materials, the genius of organization and management, efficient equipment largely due to invention, together with that complex of market conditions which govern price, combine to determine the value of products. One invention, the Bessemer process in making steel, Professor Marshall declares, "added as much to England's productive power as the labors of 100,000 men." George F. Barber, who has a national reputation as a production engineer, is quoted in the Saturday Evening Post for March 13, this year, as saying: "It is a fundamental truth that management, and not money, that leadership, and not labor, is the source of all progress—the fount of all wealth in industry. The two great delusions of to-day are: First, that all wealth and progress are created by labor; second, that wealth and progress are created by capital. The truth is that neither one nor both of these factors combined create wealth and prosperity. The conditions that make prosperity are provided by mental qualities, which are the very opposite of muscular or financial activity. Labor, material, or equipment is not effective until it is properly directed. Russia with its teeming millions of strong, husky manual laborers is proof of this. The Arabs still live as Abraham lived. There are upward of four hundred millions of people in China who are frugal and toil diligently, yet they have never prospered."

But in spite of these fundamental economic truths and well-established facts labor agitators stir up strife and organize strikes by their wild assertions that the wealth of the rich is due to the exploitation of labor. Roger Sherman, a foreman among lumberjacks, states that "the strikes of which he has had personal knowl-

edge and experience could all have been avoided if the truth had been made manifest to the strikers in due season." But economic truths are not taught where it is most necessary for them to be learned. The propaganda by radicalism on the other hand is organized and relentless; lies have a tremendous persuasive power when sinister appeals are made and base passions are enlisted. The truth not being forthcoming, discussion gives way to "direct action"; and direct action often thinly masks the disruptive aims of crafty leaders whom the masses blindly follow. The sinister slogan, "To every man according to his power to grab; and grab while the grabbing is good," runs with destructive fury among the credulous wage earners and incites them to mad acts of violence.

Capitalism, both in its principles and practice, is an evolution. It incorporates the wisdom and experience of past generations with the inevitable admixtures of error and greed which are perennial in human nature. The practical sagacity of Adam Smith and the progressive expositions of his able followers contributed much to the development of economic theory and to make it serviceable in an age of wonderful industrial expansion. The challenge to free individual initiative and enterprise broke the shackles by which industry had been bound, immensely stimulated production and promoted human welfare. Manufacturers, who were blinded by greed to the claims of a common humanity, as men have been under all systems, oppressed labor, and in conjunction with the stupid, wicked Poor Laws caused frightful social wreckage, for which capitalism was in some degree responsible. Self-interest, when championed by greed, as the sole governing motive of economic action, works disaster. It is the safe and efficient guide neither of industry nor personal conduct. Higher motives than making big profits or getting high wages must dominate human nature, or progress becomes impossible.

Both capital and labor are going through the "storm, stress, and battle pain" incident to an age of reconstruction. To repair the wastes of war, to feed millions of starving peoples; to meet the demands of many more millions for a living wage and an enriched life; to finance gigantic governments and benevolences, the production of wealth must be made much greater and more profit-

able than ever before. But it is a most discouraging fact that the losses which the world is now suffering from profiteering, waste, and under production are far greater than those caused by the war. Fortunes, beyond the dreams of avarice, have been multiplied and all classes have plunged into an orgy of extravagance. Labor is more highly paid than ever and less efficient. In England, where labor is so generally unionized, production during the war, when the crippling rules of the Trades Unions were suspended, made surprising strides in output; but, since the war and the resumption of control by the Unions, production has declined greatly. In 1919, because of strikes, thirty-four million working days were lost with a cost to labor of $723,478,000, and to capital of $1,266,357,000. In the United States there have been similar dislocations and enormous losses. The inequities of distribution are great and should be adjusted, but the storm center and most pressing concern of society are the insufficient production due to those who are trying to destroy the present means of support by which society lives. Radicalism is like "a pestilence which wasteth in the very noon-day" of prosperity. It seeks to sabotage the victory for civilization which has cost so much blood and treasure and bring in a social revolution. It saps efficiency, corrupts manhood, and spreads industrial anarchy.

The industrial system, which is doing the world's economic work, is only a single member of the social body and depends for its betterment upon the health and vigor of the social whole in which it functions. John Stuart Mill, sixty years ago, said that "nothing which takes place in any part of the operations of society is without its share of influence on any other part"—and "the paramount ascendency which the general state of civilization and social progress in any given society must exercise over all partial and subordinate phenomena." The social organism will never work harmoniously as a whole or efficiently in any of its parts, save as human nature is moralized and socialized. Communistic schemes have invariably broken down in practice because they have been imposed from without and presupposed that men and women would work as unitedly and efficiently for the general good as from motives of self-interest. Persons are easily

persuaded to revolt against the oppressive selfishness of others and are readily lured by promises of Utopian betterment, however impossible of fulfillment, who will not live unselfishly and submit to the drastic discipline and self-sacrifice that the maintenance of Utopian conditions compels. Bolshevism in Russia, for example, was borne into power on the wave of revolution which swept away the Romanoffs, but it is kept in power by a tyranny more despotic and cruel than any since the Pharaohs. Russian industries and productive forces have been strangled. Nothing but the aid of bourgeois experts whom Lenin in his desperation has called in and methods of the despised capitalism keep the people from starvation.

Socialism everywhere is splitting up and losing prestige. Trades Unions are torn asunder by warring factions. Whatever good there is in these organizations, as protecting and stabilizing forces, is in danger of being lost by the encroachments of radicalism, conspiring to climb to power on the shoulders of labor.

There is no system or method of economic distribution which covetous men cannot manipulate so as to get more than their just share. The struggle that is shaking society is not so much between capitalism and Socialism, or between capital and labor, as it is between greed and good will. These forces do not follow the lines of cleavage made by economic distinctions. They contend for the mastery within labor unions as truly as within corporations, and often disrupt both. The war was an insurgence of barbarism; and barbarism defeated on the battlefield is trying to capture industrialism. "Direct action," which is so much stressed by Syndicalism and has become so rampant, is a reversion to the practices of uncivilized times, when the issues were simple and plain, when the strongest and quickest survived and prospered, and the weaker and slower were killed or oppressed. But in modern society the issues are complex and can be settled rightly and permanently only by reason and facts, the prerequisites of sound action. Every people and every class is making its selfish demands with comparatively little regard to right or duty. These antagonistic demands can never be polarized and harmonized by any mere regulative reforms or enactments, without the cooperation of certain

unifying, transforming beliefs and emotions. Some power, more holy than class or party loyalty, national or even world patriotism, is necessary to subdue the fierce animalisms that now raven in society and develop that wise self-control which any League of Nations or industrial democracy must possess or perish. It is only an uplifting, unifying, transforming faith, in which all rights and possessions are beheld coming down from God, the infinite Giver, that can make any organization permanently beneficent; and this faith must have progressive, humane aspirations and applications in order to maintain ethical energy sufficient for such gigantic needs. The dynamics so essential to the social organism as a whole and to its every member can be supplied only by a religion strong and good enough to overcome the selfishness intrenched in human nature and its warring forces.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE PREACHER IN THIS INDUSTRIAL CRISIS

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THE easiest attitude for the preacher to take is to side-step the issues of this industrial crisis by speaking in generalities, carefully balancing his statements, with much moral agility, so that offense is given to none. On no other issue of the day can the preacher less afford to take this attitude. If he takes it the church will forfeit its moral leadership.

The questions pertaining to industry and commerce are uppermost in the minds of people; men who own as well as men who work with their hands for this day's bread are questioning the very foundations of our economic structure, and are earnestly inquiring what they ought to do. They have a right to expect that the preacher, who stands as an expert in interpreting the spirit and principles of Christ, can at least point in the direction of the light.

Moreover, if the outcome of the present industrial strife is to be determined in battle, where only might rules (and that is exactly where the present struggle appears to rage), we know that moral chaos will result. For the sake of just and productive industrial conditions we must let the Christ be heard and must persuade men to build on his foundations. The most popular method of accounting for present-day evils has been to blame some particular group of folks for everything wrong. We first blamed the Germans for everything (they were surely responsible for so much that they did not need to be loaded also with our sins), and then the Bolsheviki, and now we are exhorted to lay it at the door of the Jew that the times are out of joint. If we were Democrats we blamed the Republicans because by not supporting the President they created chaos, and if we were Republicans, we cursed the Democrats for mussing up things in general. If we were employers we blamed the workingmen, and if we

were workingmen, we blamed the employers. And we have ended by impeaching the high school children and telling how good we were when we were children! The fact is that the industrial and social troubles of our day have not been caused by the wickedness of one group in particular, but have resulted from the fact that we have all neglected the Christian virtues, and have exalted our greeds and our passions and our hatreds. There is no voice that can still these waves but the voice of the Master of men, and some way, in the noise and the confusion and the dismay, we preachers must make that voice heard, or be unworthy of our calling.

If in a sentence we can put the heart of what should be the attitude of the Christian preacher in this industrial crisis, it may be stated thus: *The Christian preacher must avoid the folly of identifying the Kingdom of God with any particular program of reform or organization of industry, and yet must insist that all programs and schemes and organizations shall be shot through with the spirit and principles of Christ.*

When a man asks me if I, as a preacher of the gospel, am on the side of the labor movement, I ask him "What labor movement?" To call any particular method of improving the condition of the workingman *the* labor movement is undisguised presumption. There are at least four distinct lines of development in the efforts of the laboring men and many less distinct lines. First, the craft union, organized on the basis of the men's task, putting dependence upon collective bargaining as the means of industrial improvement; the Bricklayers' Union, the Firemen's Union, in which all men do the same work, are illustrations. Second, the industrial union, founded on the basis of the whole industry and likewise depending on collective bargaining; the United Mine Workers' Union, the Garment Makers' Union in which men do different work but all engage in the same industry, are illustrations. Third, the labor political parties which put dependence upon political action; the Socialist Party is an illustration. Fourth, the direct action propagandists, who declare that war is now on between labor and capital and that the worker should employ force secretly when necessary and openly when possible; the I. W. W. is an illustration. To realize how much

these four movements agree with each other's methods, note the opinion given by the Third International Convention of Socialists, of the British Labor Party and their like, whose radicalism would startle some of us; they are branded as "confident advisers of the bourgeoisie and reliable hangmen of the working classes." The purpose of each of these movements is to better the conditions of the workingman, but the methods are so different that they love each other almost as much as some of our Christian denominations love one another! They will cooperate in no way and persist in damning each other. Even within the four divisions themselves there is much difference of judgment. The regular trade-unionists will refuse to call the railroad brotherhoods unions at all, and will condemn them in no uncertain terms.

Now, the point is this: when the workingmen themselves and their leaders are divided regarding the methods of bettering their condition, it is the height of folly to identify Christianity with any one program so that Christianity stands or falls with that particular scheme of industrial betterment. Moreover, the propagandist is asking too much when he demands just that identification, as frequently he does. Christianity is preeminently occupied with spirit and with principles and not with method, and therein lies part of the secret of its perennial youth. If Christ had dealt with a particular program of social or industrial betterment adapted to the conditions of life under which he lived, that program would be useless in the changed conditions of to-day. He dealt, however, with principles and attitudes and conditions of the heart and conquests of sin—and as such his message is of direct application to our day. We would, therefore, refuse to identify the Christian church with any particular scheme of industrial betterment, but would bring to each scheme the message of Jesus, and to each leader and individual the Christian life.

The propagandist who has been perhaps the most insistent in demanding that the church stand or fall with its program, has been the Socialist. He frequently states that when the church was young and poor it was communistic since it held all things in common, but that as soon as it began to have a few people of wealth it sold out to them and abolished communism. Now that

claim is made so frequently that it ought to be examined. It is, of course, based on the opening chapters of the book of Acts—the latter part of the fourth and the first part of the fifth chapters in particular. Regarding the communism of that day we should understand several facts. First, while this form of communism was established in the Jerusalem Church, we do not know of its being established in another early church, although there were many other churches since the persecutions early scattered the Christians. There were scores of early Christian churches and only one, so far as we know, communistic in form. Now is it quite fair to draw the conclusion from this one example, that the entire early church was communistic? It was perhaps one per cent communistic. Second, the plan in Jerusalem was introduced to meet the special crisis caused by the persecutions of the Christians and the serious want produced among them. We can readily understand how a church at the present day might introduce such a plan to meet such a crisis. Third, the giving of private property into the common fund was undeniably voluntary. Now can anyone claim with the shadow of truth that this voluntary plan, introduced to meet a crisis in one church out of many, means that the present-day Christian church, to be true to its first days, must go over, bag and baggage, to the elaborate programs of State Socialism?

Now, please understand that this is no argument against Socialism. It is merely a protest against the effort to identify the Christian Church with Socialism or with any particular scheme of industrial organization. Christianity is infinitely bigger than any plan of betterment.

Probably, however, the average preacher is not so apt to make the mistake of causing his message to stand or fall with any radical solution of our ills as he is apt to identify his message with the industrial system as it is. There are preachers who consider one of their chief tasks is (to use the words of one of them) "to save society," by which he means that he is apologetic for things-as-they-are and a violent opponent of all change. I recently heard a preacher declare that the Constitution of the United States was almost on a level with the inspired Scriptures. In fact, his first

statement placed them on a par and then he apologized and said that he did not mean to put the Constitution on "quite the same level!" He then added that anyone who suggested that our form of government should be considerably changed was on a level with an atheist. I judge that few of us have any inclination to go to that extreme, and yet we need to examine ourselves. The simple fact is that preachers are more apt to get the point of view of the prosperous man, whose prosperity makes him well content with things as they are, than of the laborer or the dispossessed. The reasons are many. The prosperous man has a confidence and address, an ability to state his case much greater than the laborer; he has a breadth, a manifold experience of life, that is most pleasing; he first catches the idea of the pastor and supports his plans generously and tactfully; he bears the brunt of the expenses of the church, and his judgment is tried and true; it is he who believes that the preacher should have a vacation, and that his salary should be raised; it is he who invites the preacher to his home and gratifyingly feeds his body while at the same time he feeds his social nature with happy companionship and his artistic nature with the practical and poetic refinements of a beautiful home. These men, frank and sleek and clean, with a real love of the Master, unconsciously lead us to think that, after all, this is a good world with a rough sort of fairness in distributing the good things of life, and that the man who is dispossessed probably has been indolent or unwise or dissipated. We are liable to draw the conclusion that only those who attain to the positions of managers of plants or head officers are really successful in industry, forgetting that an artisan who has no special abilities for management or for selling may, along his own line, be just as successful as the man who has; forgetting that many a deserving man of ability has failed because at the crucial time a trusted partner was dishonest, or credit was withdrawn, or unfair competition used, or an unjust law slipped through, or legal processes long drawn out, or prices manipulated, or one of a score of business tragedies outside his reach suffered, which ought never to exist in a well-ordered social and industrial state.

To come back to the main thesis that we are trying to illus-

trate and develop, Christianity is infinitely bigger than any social or industrial scheme, and must not be identified with the success of any particular system, whether that system be the one under which we now live or some other which seems to promise more perfect conditions.

Now, that must not be taken to mean that a Christian preacher will not have his convictions regarding the organization of industry or of the state. He will have his convictions and will of necessity utter them, but not in such a way as to make Christianity stand or fall with them. He will advance them with frank recognition that they are his personal judgments, which are open to revision and perhaps repudiation.

There is one duty in this industrial crisis that is peculiarly the Christian preacher's. It is his right and duty to insist, in season and out of season, that every system of industrial or social organization shall be permeated with the spirit and the principles of the Master. Here is a broad and important field which calls for all the wisdom and knowledge and consecration he can gain.

Perhaps this thesis can best be made clear by illustrating from present-day conditions in industry.

What should be the attitude of the church in the campaign which is now being forced by the manufacturers' associations for what they call the "open shop," a campaign which has been waged in most of our cities for several years, but is now broadened to a nation-wide struggle. I judge that the church goes beyond its province if it comes out, live or die, sink or swim, on the side of organized capital or of organized labor; if it becomes an apologist for all the acts of one side and a denouncer of all the acts of the other. And yet we have the right and duty to make certain very pertinent statements regarding the way this campaign is being waged. We ought to protest against the use of force in the way that is illustrated by the fact that the National Manufacturers' Association sends word to every periodical publishing establishment in the country that all advertising of members of the National Manufacturers' Association would be withdrawn unless all union men were discharged; that we will well call attention to the fact that this association is cloaking under what it

calls an innocent effort to introduce the open shop a direct and bitter attack against the labor union, and in some instances against all forms of collective bargaining.

To use another illustration, what should be the attitude of the church in the recent declaration of the American Federation of Labor that it would defy the powers of our courts in injunction proceedings? Let us realize that without doubt judges have too frequently overstepped their powers in injunction proceedings. Let us realize that such legal procedure as illustrated by the Lever Act gives labor well-grounded reasons for protest against our courts. The Lever Act was used successfully to force coal miners to give up their strike during the war, but when invoked against profiteers it was first tied up in court delays and was finally declared unconstitutional. The Lever Act worked against the workingman, but failed against the profiteers. And yet, with all due allowance for such evil conditions, there is no excuse for flaunting the constitutional provisions and powers of our government. There are remedies for such evil conditions which do not carry with them defiance of law and the creation of lawlessness.

Regarding another present-day question some one asks, "Does the church have any right to interfere with business as it did in its Interchurch report of the steel strike?" In our judgment, undeniably "Yes." It would be a serious mistake for the church to assume that the kingdom of God stands or falls with the unionization of the steel industry, or on the other hand with its open-shop policy. But has not the church a right to state the facts and to call for remedy when over two million of our citizens are affected by an industry in which one half of the workingmen labor twelve hours a day, and one fourth twelve hours a day seven days a week; in which 72 per cent of the workers received less than the amount set by Government experts as necessary to maintain a minimum of comfort for a family of five, and 33 per cent of the workers received less than those same experts set as the amount necessary to maintain a minimum of subsistence for a family of five? Are not a church and a preacher unfaithful to their Christ if they do not do their part in arousing public conscience in such matters?

Let the preacher, therefore, as the voice of the Christian Church, speak with authority and insistence regarding the moral questions definitely involved in these issues. But let him do so without identifying the kingdom of God with any particular party or scheme, so that His Kingdom stands or falls with the adoption of any political or industrial program.

A train of thought somewhat sidetracked from the main line of this paper, but one that we should have in mind with these considerations, should be suggested. The probability is that we will have increased radicalism in our country during the next few years of industrial agitation and in the social programs that are proposed. Whatever may be the success of the Russian revolution, ideas have been set loose which have stirred the hearts of the workers the world over. And the soil of the United States is much more receptive to such ideas than ever before. In the earlier days our people were conservative in matters that concerned the rights of property. There were many reasons for this fact. Each person easily became a property owner in the United States up to thirty years ago. Free land and partly free building materials made it so that almost anyone owned at least the house in which he lived and had a goodly garden lot. If a man did not own at least that amount of property, he was judged to be scarcely bright. Moreover, there was little poverty in the necessities of life, although there was much poverty in the comforts and æsthetics of living. Free fuel, free game, and free land meant that people seldom suffered for the bare necessities of life and only indolence or physical incompetence could account for lack of these needs. In addition, capital was scarce, and so much needed that seldom did any one look far enough ahead to believe that it might even be a menace. It was "attracted" to given localities by bonuses, tax exemptions, free sites and power, or special privileges. Will we realize how the development of our large cities and the exhaustion of free land has greatly changed all this? We have thousands of people in all our centers of population who not only do not own their own homes but not even their furniture or the clothes on their backs. They are constantly menaced by unemployment, sickness or discharge from work, any one of which

calamities within a week brings them and their families to actual physical want. They are almost at the mercy of landlord or foreman, with the two alternatives of taking the proposition offered or leaving it. The result unavoidably will be that people who have no stake in society as it is, and consider that they have a serious grievance against it, will lend a greedy ear to any proposition for a change.

And how is this growing radicalism to be met? By a policy of forcible repression by which the fire is forced underground, the opportunity of answering exaggerated statements lost, and the propagandists made martyrs and heroes? That is the way of the Russian czars and German kaisers, and has not appeared to work exceedingly well. The way to meet the charges of radicals is first to cut the ground from under their feet by making our industries and governments the best and fairest possible; then, by example and word, by pulpit, press, and school and hall, to let them know what our national ideals are, and how we are earnestly striving for them, even though we fall far short; then to let the radicals talk and write themselves out, trusting to the steady and sturdy common sense of folks to separate the wheat from the chaff.

This fact of growing radicalism makes it difficult for the preacher to maintain an unbiased attitude in this industrial crisis. Between the vociferous and extreme demands of the radical, the manifold schemes of the liberal, the cynical pessimisms of the conservative, the apologies and the frightened repressions of the stand-patter, he is in danger of losing his footing. The fogs of propaganda are liable to confuse him, inaccurate and perverted news sources to mislead him, prejudices and hatred to disgust him, clever sophistries to beguile him. But his task is more than difficult—it is important; so important, in fact, that its difficulty must not cause him to hesitate or to falter. God give us sanctified judgment, clear discernment, a passion for truth and righteousness and justice, conviction without bigotry, steadfastness without stubbornness and prejudice, and above all the spirit of the Master of men who sought the horny-handed toiler who smelled of fish and also the smooth publican up a tree!

CAN THE DEAD SPEAK TO US?

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This question is as startling to conventional thinking as it would be to say, "The sphinx has spoken." And yet, Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Conan Doyle, Professor Hyslop and others, in a new group of scientific students of the occult, say that the dead have spoken to them. Have they really done so?

The present popular delving into the mystery of the invisible realm is fraught with danger, because psychic phenomena yield but slowly to scientific investigation and analysis. It is necessary, therefore, that we exercise prudence and patience lest we become either the dupes of fantasy or the prey of the charlatan. We should also keep before us a clear distinction between the doctrine of "survival" of the soul after the death of the body, and the theory of spirit-communication. The former does not involve the latter and is not dependent upon it. Spirit-messages would indeed be evidence of the soul's survival, but are not the only, or even the most important, evidence. Even if departed spirits remained silent to our importunings, that would not disprove their continued existence. On the other hand, their response to us would be only corroborative of our faith in survival, which rests upon previously laid and solid foundations.

A few years ago the whole subject of death was taboo, but the war has revived an interest in the study of it just in proportion as it multiplied death and increased the number of those who mourn. Special significance is added to the present trend toward occult investigation, by the action of men like Sir Oliver Lodge and Sir Conan Doyle, who have openly renounced their former unbelief in the immortality of the soul, and now affirm strong faith in it. The fact that they base their faith in "survival" upon results obtained from experiments made in the seance chamber is of only secondary interest to us, for it means much to have scientific men do something more respectable than sneer at things spiritual.

Religion invites our faith in immortality on the basis of divine revelation and the gospel record of the resurrection of Christ. Philosophy, reasoning from the known to the unknown, reaches a similar faith in "survival." But science has hitherto rejected this evidence. Conformably with this attitude, the new exponents of immortality ask us to believe only what they claim to have proven by occult experiments. Their proof consists of the claim to have scientifically established communication with the dead. Let us accept their invitation and apply the acid test of scientific procedure to their alleged results, and of the methods employed.

The Claimed Results of Spirit-Communication

Let us consider what these advocates of spirit-communication claim to have discovered from the messages which they think they have received from the dead. I will mention only some of the more important points in natural sequence, leaving the examination of the evidence until later. We are told by these men who speak as scientists, and by popular writers who profess to speak for them, that,

1. The departed experience no break in personal consciousness at the hour of death.

2. Memory and the full use of natural faculties endure after the soul has left the body.

3. There is recognition among the departed who knew of each other during the earth-life.

4. Some knowledge of earthly conditions exists in the spirit-world.

5. Spiritual progress in knowledge and attainment is reported—purgation from sin following a period of punishment for the same.

6. There are said to be several planes of existence, each in succession being higher than the previous one reached by the newcomer.

7. There are grades of superior beings in the spirit-world, whose function it seems to be to minister to new arrivals in their respective spheres.

It is claimed that these and many other points are absolutely proven by thousands of communications from the spirit-world. It is admitted, however, that the process of securing these messages is quite uncertain, and the nature of them often unintelligible and inconsequential. The conservative thinker may be grateful for this expert confirmation of his own amateur judgment, after reading even such reputably commended books as Raymond and The New Revelation, to say nothing of such lesser writings as The Revelations of Louise. We come now to the nature of the evidence upon which the foregoing discoveries about the life after death are said to rest.

Until quite recently the only spokesmen for spirit-communications were members of various cults operating under the common name of "Spiritists." Most of these are organized in some form of a religious society. But because psychic phenomena have been so shamefully commercialized by many of their exponents, and have been so counterfeited by charlatans, they received but tardy recognition from the students of either psychology or science.

In 1882 the London Society for Psychological Research was organized for the express purpose of introducing scientific method into the study of debatable phenomena such as are involved in our present subject. Its first president was the professor of moral philosophy in Cambridge, Henry Sidgwick, and its membership since then has included many of the leading scientists and psychologists of two continents, such as Sir William Crookes and our own Professor William James. Their function is not to dogmatize, affirmatively or negatively, about that great and, to most people, mysterious subject of psychic phenomena. It is perhaps entirely fair to say that thus far their painstaking and conscientious work has resulted chiefly in making it certain that there is a vast field of actual fact and experience which, though real, is too subtle to be reached by the present instruments and methods of physical science. Their investigations strongly intimate that there are such things as a subconscious mind, supernormal powers, and a natural area or realm in which these human qualities may function. This is of extreme value to us, because it shows that psychic phenomena are not the mere hallucinations of disordered brains; and it gives

us anchorage in the solid results of honest and intelligent investigation to protect us from the charlatan in psychics.

Since the war began, certain prominent members of this venerable society have published the results of their own experiments in one branch of psychic phenomena, commonly called "spiritism," which involve alleged communication with the dead. These psychic exponents make the claim that their methods of investigation have been scientific and their findings dependable. It must, however, be said that in their dogmatic utterances they go many leagues beyond the official pronouncements of the Psychical Society of which they are honored members. However, even *they* warn us that a novice should not attempt experimentation with the occult, owing to the actual danger of psychic injury, the innumerable intricacies involved in the subliminal consciousness, the very small number of genuine mediums, and the large probability of being fleeced by charlatans.

Findings of London Psychical Society

Following this sane advice, I want to state briefly a few points on which the experience of the London Research Society gives us expert guidance. (If all who are interested in the study of spiritism would keep these in mind, they would not be easily victimized by the greedy charlatans who infest this field of study to enrich themselves by commercializing the sorrows of the world.) We are distinctly warned by the findings of the London Research Society that there is,

1. A great deal of fraud among those who operate as "mediums" for the transmission of alleged messages from the dead.

2. Considerable self-delusion among even honest mediums which makes their work unreliable, and thus of no real value.

3. Much error in the transmission of alleged messages from the dead, due to imperfect comprehension by the medium or to the natural coloring of his or her own personality.

Then we are advised that there is a second class of phenomena which, even if they are not fraudulently produced, still have no bearing upon actual spirit communications, because they can all

be otherwise explained. I refer to table-rappings, ouija boards, slate-writing, and the like. Since these are perhaps the most common means of proof offered in support of spiritism, we shall consider them in greater detail presently.

There is also a third, and perhaps higher, class of occult demonstrations which confuse the novice and enrich the professional practitioner. Here the process is not physical but mental; and the explanation is to be found in psychology rather than in physics. By the use of this agency it is possible for the operator to tell his uninitiate client many wonderful things about himself, out of both the present and the past. This establishes faith in the client and prepares him to accept almost anything which the operator may tell as coming, presumably, from the spirit-world, particularly regarding the future. But there is nothing in all this which sustains any necessary legitimate relation to spirit-communications.

There is also another occult step, somewhat in advance of telepathy, which brings us to clairvoyance, clairaudience, and clairsenscience. The investigations of the Research Society indicate that there really may be such a gift, faculty, or power among humans. Its seat and agent is said to be the subconscious mind. And the field for its operations is a finer, though invisible, realm which interpenetrates our physical world. It is claimed that under certain conditions it is possible for those who possess this power to penetrate the mystery which shrouds many of the perplexing experiences of our life. You will see at once how easy it would be for a genuine clairvoyant to be self-deceived as to the operation and meaning of this faculty and for the client to mistake the results of it for real spirit-communications, when in reality the clairvoyant was merely reporting her telepathic observations in the psychic realm. But clairvoyant revelations do not at all involve messages from the dead. Even if they did so, it would not guarantee the genuineness of alleged spirit messages, for such students of the occult as Sir Oliver Lodge admit that even in a trance the personality of the medium may color the supernormal message which she transmits. This, as you will see, seriously affects the credibility of the evidence of spirit communication which comes to us from even the very highest form of mediumship.

Nothing New Discovered

What is the bearing of all this upon the question, "Can the dead speak to us?" It is very direct, and perhaps a bit disconcerting to the claims of spiritists. We have it upon the testimony of the highest authority of psychical research, the London Society, that *no form of mediumship* has as yet been found which *is dependable*—even if honest; and that no phase of psychic phenomena has been discovered which necessarily involves direct contact with the dead, or which cannot be explained by the known laws and powers of human personality, functioning upon the psychic plane. If we follow scientific methods, or adopt the logic of evidence, that should end the case for spirit-communication through any known form of intermediate mediumship, so far as rational students are concerned.

This is not equivalent to denying the possibility that the dead can speak to the living. But I think that, from the results thus far shown by occultists, it is quite certain that *the dead have not spoken to us through the mediumship of any third person.* This is not to deny that psychic mediums have produced supernormal information; it merely questions the spirit-world *source* of it. It is thinkable that clairvoyants may actually see conditions and persons in the spirit-world. But that fact would not be evidence that their narrative of it was given as a direct message to us *by a particular spirit* dwelling in that sphere. The fact, for example, that a traveler in France tells us of things and persons *there,* does not prove that anyone there sent us a message by him.

For a moment, however, I want to assume that what Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Conan Doyle, and their new group of occultists claim is true. Remember what it is that they claim to have discovered through their alleged spirit communications. Quoting briefly from Sir Conan Doyle's book, The New Revelation, we have these points as representing the conditions and experiences of the departed: Continued consciousness, memory, recognition, some knowledge of earth conditions, possible progress, ascending planes of existence, and grades of superior beings. Here are seven important matters to which Sir Conan refers as "the good tidings" of the new revelation. And they *are* good.

But, and here is the important point, *there is nothing new* about any of these for any student of the Christian scriptures, particularly as contained in the teachings of Christ; nor has he shown that his information was derived from departed spirits. Christ taught all of these things. For example, in the parable of Dives and Lazarus alone, Christ specifically stated that the departed spirit of Dives was conscious, for he is shown in mental action; he had memory, else Abraham would not have said, "Son, remember"; he recognized Lazarus and Abraham, for he mentioned both by name; he had some knowledge of earth conditions, for he knew the continued impenitence of his brothers who still lived upon earth; he was not in a state of finality, an eternal hell, for, although he suffered for his selfishness on earth, he showed progress in that he offered an unselfish prayer for others. That there is a succession of higher planes of spiritual existence is suggested by Christ's reference to "the many mansions in My Father's house," and Saint Paul speaks quite definitely about a "third heaven" (involving necessarily two previous spheres of existence in the hereafter). That there is also an ascending grade of higher beings is indicated by many scriptural references to "principalities and powers," "thrones and dominions" in the "heavenly places." (And there is a whole class of higher beings to whom the sacred writer refers as "ministering spirits sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation.") Each of these seven points, claimed as a "new revelation" by the new school of spiritists, is therefore not a *new* revelation at all, so far as historic Christianity is concerned. Hence the statements of Sirs Lodge and Doyle about the conflict between these their alleged discoveries and orthodox Christianity are not supported by the facts; and their pretensions as to the superiority of their findings over the old faith are but vanity. The most that can be said of them is that they are *re*discoveries. We may commend the diligence of these men in the search of truth, we welcome them as new converts to the old faith, and we offer them the use of the ancient text-book (the Bible) for a fuller knowledge of spiritual things than they now possess. But we cannot grant their premise, that psychic mediumship is of higher authority in eschatology than is the Bible.

Wholly apart from the theory of inspiration, the Bible is at least as credible a record of human experience regarding angels, spirits, etc., as are Sirs Lodge, Doyle & Co.

The foregoing facts bring us sharply to this: Spiritists, as now represented by this new group of distinguished men, have hitherto rejected the teaching of the Bible on the ground that it all rests upon faith; and in contrast, they now claim that the alleged discoveries of occult students rest upon actual demonstration. But I submit that it requires more faith, nay rather blind credulity, to accept the mediumistic revelations about life beyond the grave published by Messrs. Lodge, Doyle & Company than is required to believe the revelations on this subject by the Christ, Saint Paul, and other Christian apostles. And if we have to choose between these two groups of teachers of conditions in the future life, we shall, if we are rational, unhesitatingly choose the ancient and inspired writers, for no charge of fraud has ever been proven against *them.*

If we desire more light on the subject of the spirit-world, we should go, not to spiritism but to the Scriptures; for whatever there is of truth about the hereafter which is either known or knowable is written there for our learning. And I submit that what has once been thus revealed does not need repeated, new revelations. Historic Christianity has always taught the seven points now under consideration, and has allowed large room for an individual faith beyond that, so that there is nothing in basic Christianity to preclude the acceptance of new corroborative evidence about the spirit-world when it has been established as facts. For this reason I have openmindedly studied psychic phenomena for many years, have "sat in" at various seances, and have come to the preparation of this paper without that prejudice which often exists against new ideas. In so far as psychic confirmation of survival after death will bear intelligent scrutiny, I should gladly accept its corroboration of my Christian faith.

The Source of the New Revelation

But now let us face the facts about this new revelation. Let us remember that these men speak as scientists. They profess to

offer "proofs" of spirit-communications. They do not ask faith of us. We therefore have a right to expect evidence of their claims which would be acceptable in a court, laboratory, or clinic. Have they furnished such evidence? Reluctantly I am obliged to make the unqualified statement that as yet they have offered nothing which proves spirit-communication. I go even a step farther and say that, by the methods they now employ, they probably *never will* obtain such proofs because some form of psychic mediumship is used. My reason for rejecting mediumship will appear later.

To be perfectly fair to the claims of mediumship, let us admit that the *abuse* of a thing proves nothing against the thing itself. Therefore we shall pass over entirely all work done by mediums who operate privately, either for exhibition purposes or financial gain, and consider only those who have operated for scientific purposes, under the observation of such students of the occult as Flammarion, Lombroso, Hodgson, Crookes, Sir Oliver Lodge, and others of his class, who have approached this subject seriously for the purpose of discovering truth, if possible. Naturally these men would use only the most gifted and most reliable mediums. If these do not prove the case for spiritism, it would be useless for us to examine the others.

My present point is this: Even assuming that the work of mediumship may some day prove spirit communications, which I think it will not, I affirm that mediumship itself needs better credentials than have as yet been offered. And yet Sir Conan Doyle says that "working *without* a medium is like an astronomer working without a telescope." Since the whole case for spiritism seems to stand or fall with the credibility of its chief witnesses, the mediums, you will see how very important it is that they should be *unimpeachable*. Let us then examine the witnesses.

Sir Oliver Lodge derived much of his alleged information about the spirit-world from Eusapia Palladino, a famous medium who operated before many noted investigators in Italy, France, and England. Who was she? She was an ignorant peasant woman, widow of a traveling magician and juggler. Lodge was obliged to admit that she sometimes fooled him, yet he continued

to trust her. Professor Richard Hodgson, of America, when invited to "sit in" with Sir Oliver during Palladino's seances, repeatedly caught her in fraud. Some years ago she came to America to give a series of demonstrations in a number of the larger cities. But she was so badly exposed in trickery during her first exhibit that she returned at once to her dear Sir Oliver, and has been no more seen on this side. Reasons? Why, some naughty, unbelieving detective slipped under her chair (in the dark), caught the old fraud by the ankles, had the lights turned on, and displayed the wires which were attached to her well-trained toes, with which she had skillfully manipulated the mechanical devices that produced the spiritual (?) phenomena of her seances. Any court would rule out evidence which had been so thoroughly proven to be fraudulent. But not so with Sir Oliver. He also trusted a Mrs. Piper during many years of experimentation. She seems not to have been a fraud, but simply a self-deluded psychic who attributed her supernormal experiences to the influence of spirits. In some of her trances, however, she unwittingly got alleged messages from the dead and the living mixed up. Consequently her mediumship proves little for spirit-communication. I think you will agree with me that, unless we have parted company with our senses (and sense), we shall refuse to accept Sir Oliver's alleged discoveries in the spirit-world, in so far as they depend upon the testimony of either Signora Palladino or plain Mrs. Piper.

Next we come to the New Revelation of Sir Conan Doyle. Those who have analyzed this book as they would any scientific proposition will agree that it is a piece of clumsy reasoning, based upon the fantastic tales of superstitious folk. Take only one typical example. Says Sir Conan: "I was one of three delegates sent by the Psychical Society to sit up in a haunted house. On the first night nothing occurred. On the second, there were tremendous noises, sounds like some one beating a table with a stick; we had of course taken every precaution, and could not explain the noise; but at the same time we could not swear that some practical joke had not been played upon us. There the matter ended for the time. Some years afterward, however, a member of the

family who occupied the house told me that after our visit the bones of a dead child, evidently long buried, had been dug up in the garden. You must admit that this was very remarkable." (!)

Sir Conan has failed to show three things: 1, that there is any connection between the buried bones of the baby and the noises in the house; 2, that the noises were not some "practical joke"; or 3, that, even assuming that the origin of the noise was occult, it was made by the spirit of either the departed baby or of any other dead person. By such jumps in logic, based upon so dubious circumstantial evidence, a court could easily hang Sir Conan for the murder of that baby.

Claims of spirit-communication, based upon such drivel as this, lead one to say that this book is exceeded in imbecility only by Sir Oliver's book, Raymond. In that book, the author, a grief-stricken father, seems to have allowed the wish for communication with his dead soldier-son to make him forget that he once had a high degree of intelligence, or ever knew anything about scientific evidence. Personal sympathy for Sir Oliver, and not acceptance of his alleged spirit-communications, is our proper reaction from such pseudo-psychic phenomena. But Sir Conan realizes the plight into which Sir Oliver has fallen through Palladino's piffle, so he admits that she was "at least twice convicted of fraud," and adds with some show of real wisdom, "I personally prefer to cut my experience with a discredited medium out of my record." Do you see the logical effect of this? It means that we must dismiss all of Sir Oliver's claims to spirit-communication which were based upon Palladino's mediumship; for, by the judgment of scientist Doyle, all of scientist Lodge's alleged discoveries in the spirit-world are "cut from the record" and so ruled out of court. And yet they are collaborators in continuing the farce!

Next we examine Sir Conan's witness. He says that a Mr. D. D. Home is "the greatest medium of all." He says that he believes in Home because of his almost miraculous psychic power. For example, he relates that Home could "float out of a window into another, at a height of seventy feet above the ground." Marvelous! (?) And yet one wonders why a man who could do that continued to pay for the use of cabs and railroad trains when he

wished to pass from one geographical point to another. But, leaving all that kind of doubt aside, we cannot be charged with undue incredulity as to Home's power to get messages from the dead, if we ask this simple question: What has Mr. Home's alleged ability to float in the air, without wings or a machine, to do with the question of his ability to secure and transmit spirit-communications? Nothing at all. The argument is merely a vivid example of *non sequitur*. The two things have no points in common, and do not belong to the same class of phenomena. We are therefore not surprised to learn that Mr. Home convinced nobody except those who were eager for that sort of excitement. He disappeared after a law suit in connection with his work. And, as Rupert Hughes, who investigated his case, says, "Over everything in his imposing lot of miracles there hung the pall of fraud." Alas for Sir Conan's judgment as to the integrity of Home's mediumship!

Need we go farther in considering the credibility of the mediums? The three named have had the indorsement of the most prominent, able, and honorable among the scientific students of spirit-communication. If we were to enter the broader field of mediumship in general, we should simply come upon spiritistic vaudeville. This might provoke ridicule and mirth, but has no place in any serious consideration of the subject now under discussion.

The Reality of the Invisible

It seems to me that the most that can be justly claimed by the new school of occultists is that they have discovered the reality of a vast field of psychic phenomena which science has hitherto denied. And that is for us great gain; for now trained minds may enter this field of study without danger of losing scholastic caste; and charlatanry in psychics will become increasingly difficult. But the existence of a psychic realm does not prove the possibility of intercommunication between us and departed spirits, any more than the discovery of the planet Mars proves that its supposed inhabitants have or ever can establish intercommunication with us. We await scientific proof in both cases.

Now let us turn to another phase of the subject, "Can the dead speak to us?" That they *do not* speak through any kind of

third-person mediumship, or at least have not been proven to do so, is, I think, clear from the lack of dependable evidence. But that is not equivalent to saying that the dead *cannot* speak to us. It only clears the field of study and psychics of the confusion and rubbish which have cluttered up this important human question. As a result, we are perhaps better able to look with unobstructed vision for the answer.

How Would the Dead Speak?

Let us start, as before, with the supposition that the dead *can* speak to us. How would they be likely to try to do it? Would they not use some method of communication which both they and we know about and understand? I think that is self-evident. But what do we find as the method actually claimed for them by even the scientific students of spiritism? Why this: table-rapping, to go no farther into the ridiculous. Now what do we know about the code of table-rapping as a means of communication between humans, which would enable us to interpret that kind of a message from the departed? Nothing, absolutely nothing. Why, then, do mediums use it? Just *that* is the reason. Because we know nothing about that code, it enables the honest medium to conceal her own ignorance of the source of her alleged messages from the spirit-world. And by this means the charlatan can play and prey upon ignorance for his or her own gain.

But we do know the uses and language of the telegraph, either by wire or ether. And innumerable telegraphers have died, leaving behind them families and friends with whom it is reasonable to suppose that they would be as eager to communicate as are other people who do not understand telegraphy. I submit that if it were possible for the spirits of our dead to control physical elements so that they can make loud noises by rapping on tables and walls, by tilting tables and playing banjos, by spelling out words on the Ouija board, by causing rushes of air through a room, and by frightening people generally, they could also control the telegraph instrument and use its code. Have they ever done so, or asked a medium to permit them to do so during any seance? Spiritualistic literature is strangely silent on this subject. Again we

ask why should they use an *un*natural method if speaking to us when they could easily have access to a natural one? The answer is that they do not speak to us, through *any* medium, by such artificial methods. Spiritists will reply that there are "direct voice mediums," psychic diaphragms, so to speak. Well, if that be true, we are getting a little nearer to the heart of the question.

But, we now ask, Can the dead speak to us in *any* way? Again let us assume that they can, and ask another question: What would naturally be the conditions under which the departed would have had communion with us in this life? Is it not true that the ties of blood or of affection create the affinities under which the desire for communication is most natural and its enjoyment most delightful? And is it not also true that such periods of communion on earth are actually stopped by the approach of a stranger? We all know that these things are true. Well, then, upon what grounds might we expect that our departed friends should violate this usual, natural condition, so as to actually *require* a stranger, if they have a message to communicate to us from the spirit-world?

For answer, defenders of mediumship have used the illustration of the telephone operator; but that answer will not meet the case, because the "hello girl" only makes the connection. She does not carry on the conversation *for* us, however much she may "listen in" on it. Nor should we be expected to accept a professional and often immoral medium as the psychic diaphragm or telephone instrument itself, as some urge.

Why, we ask, should *any* stranger be necessary to carry on a two-way conversation between us and our friends in paradise? Spiritism gives no satisfactory answer. Our own answer is, that even an honest mediumistic stranger *is not necessary,* when God has a message which he wants our loved ones in the higher realm to bring to us. And we must assume that unless and until God permits it, no spirit can return to earth. In such a case it is also reasonable to think that they will come to us alone, will speak by means which we ourselves can interpret, through faculties which we (and not a medium only) possess, and for definitely beneficial purposes. But in any case, it is unthinkable that God would ever

permit the spirits of our dead to be subject to human beck and call for exhibition purposes, or even to satisfy our natural curiosity. (And certainly they may not be exploited to enable a psychic medium to fatten financially, by preying upon the longing and easy credulity of bleeding hearts.)

Let me refer back to an important point, which must be remembered if we are not to drift far afield in this study. Our dear departed are in the loving hands of our heavenly Father, sinful though they may have been. He could not, without a violation of everything which we know about him, permit the exploitation of a soul in paradise in order to satisfy the demands of earthly curiosity or greed. *God* has something to say about the souls in the spirit-world; and Christ said, "*No man* shall pluck them out of My Father's hand." Believing this as I do, I cannot see any way in which spiritistic mediumship can recall any soul which has departed this earthly life.

But can and do the dead ever speak to us of their own accord? And if so, by what means? Well, I may not presume to be dogmatic on this vital question. But I may be permitted to point out ways in which I think that the dead *have* spoken to men in the past, from which we may reason that, if need require, they may do so again; for I do not believe that the spirit-appearances of the departed are limited to the biblical age. But visualization is not always accompanied by verbal communication, nor vice versa.

There is a large field of psychic phenomena which has thus far eluded accurate analysis. We should not speculate. We may not dogmatize. All that is known is that there are spiritual realities which physical science is not equipped to discern and psychology has only begun to perceive. These may not be dismissed as idle; they should not be shunned with a mere shudder; they may some day be acknowledged as the answer to our question for this hour. I refer to such intangible things as intuition, premonition, apparition. These things do not rest upon the vaporings of psychic vampires, but have secured standing in the classrooms of psychology and of science. With reference to the latter of these, the visualization of the dead, the verdict of the London Research Society, after scientifically examining thousands of cases, is that

"the ratio (of visualization to the whole number of deaths) is 440 times more than was to be expected by the law of probabilities." And the special Research Committee on this subject reports that "a relation of cause and effect does exist between the death of A and the vision of him by B." But in all cases the vision was directly to a living friend, and not through the action of any medium.

Actual perception or experience in this class of phenomena would of course be richer with some persons than with others, because, first, the special need may not be the same with all; and second, the psychic faculties of all are not equally developed. For illustration of the first point, it did not at all follow that simply because there was a telegraph office in our home town, our sons who were in France should have sent us daily messages. They did so only when there was special occasion for it. Just so, the fact that we have psychic faculties, which may communicate with the spirit-world, does not predicate anything as to the frequency with which it is permissible for us to use them. It merely shows that the Creator provided us with the necessary faculties to receive messages from the spirit-world, *when it pleases him to send them to us.* I do not believe that these psychic faculties can ever be used for clandestine communication between the spirit world and ourselves.

I do not believe that any medium can, by any agency whatsoever, or for any purpose, recall my beloved dead from their vocations in the spirit-world. And I do not believe that the present investigation, along so-called scientific lines, will get us one step nearer to spirit-communication; because I do believe that such communications as may come from the other world are absolutely in the hand of God and not of men—whether they are honest scientific students or fraudulent and greedy charlatans.

God has revealed to us all that we need to know about the future life and conditions there, but we have not begun really to explore that revelation. He has on many notable occasions permitted intercommunication between the spirit-world and earth. Sometimes he has spoken to man by his own Spirit, sometimes by the angels, sometimes by the departed. But always, in such cases, the communication was direct. It is of record that mothers have

been forewarned, through their psychic faculties, when their children were in danger; the bereaved have seen their loved ones, after the body had been laid in the grave; voices of the far-distant living, as well as the dead, have been heard by their friends; the dying have seen and talked with the dead, when they themselves were in the border-land between two worlds; and some persons are so highly developed psychically that they can penetrate the realm which is invisible to physical eyes. Saint Paul narrates such an experience. But, like him, those who have really done this can usually say only that they saw "unspeakable things which it is not lawful to utter." Remember: Real spiritual power is never given to men for exploitation, as Simon Magnus learned to his sorrow. And it is of record that those who have used it improperly have lost it.

The Conclusion of the Matter

It seems to me that there is something of vastly more importance than consulting our dead about their new life, however comforting that might be for us. That something is the diligent study of the Scriptures for the fullness of divine revelation which God has given us there. Most men will admit that the Scriptures are more creditable sources of information than are such books as Lodge's Raymond and Doyle's New Revelation. Besides, these latter have brought forth nothing new which was not already ours for the reading in the Bible.

It also seems to me that it is more vital to our own interests, as well as for the happiness of our departed friends, that we should busy ourselves with preparation for the life which is to come than that we should merely seek to delve into the mystery of the other world; because we shall all be going there soon. Besides, Christ gave the formula for knowledge when he said, "If any man will do his (God's) will, he shall know the doctrine." And we cannot hope to be reunited with our loved ones in the spirit-world unless we are worthy of their plane of existence.

And finally, as to our possible present relations with the departed, we get a suggestion from the Hon. William Gladstone which seems quite as much to the point as anything which Sir Oliver Lodge has said. It is an idea which may prove infinitely

more profitable for our beloved dead as well as more comforting for us than to disturb their progress by calling them back to satisfy either our curiosity or our emotions, and that is talking with God about them.

Following the death of a friend Mr. Gladstone wrote these words as part of a prayer:

"O God, the God of the spirits of all flesh, in whose embrace all creatures live, in whatsoever world or condition they be; I beseech thee for him whose name and dwelling-place and every need thou knowest. Lord, youchsafe him light and rest and peace in paradise, in the ample folds of thy great love. . . . If there be ways in which he may come, vouchsafe him to me as a guide and guard, and grant me a sense of his nearness in such degree as thy laws permit. If in aught I can minister to his peace, be pleased of thy love to let this be."

And he concludes this prayer in the only self-respecting way possible in view of our limited knowledge of conditions both in the other world, and of our power in this one:

"Pardon, O gracious Lord and Father, whatsoever is amiss in this my prayer, and let thy will be done; for my will is blind and erring, but thine is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think."

Favorable contrast with the brazen cock-sureness which presumes to think it can recall the dead at the selfish whim of either a medium or client could hardly be greater. This expressed faith of Mr. Gladstone indicates the possibility that the dead can speak to us; but it also shows sanity in that it recognizes that the spirits of the departed are in the hands of God, and not of man.

Can the dead speak to us? Yes, I believe they can. But they can do so only on such occasions and in such ways as God permits. And this simple answer at once lifts the whole subject of spirit communication up out of the realm of human control, and hence of exploitation by strangers.

So far as I am concerned the foregoing ends the case for the claims of spiritism by whatsoever name known or by whomsoever championed. In view of the attempts of the curious to disturb the departed in their new life in the spirit world, we may well revive the ancient practice of expressing this wish or prayer:

"May the faithful departed rest in peace, and may light perpetual shine upon them."

MEDIUMISTIC REVELATIONS

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HAUNTING conceptions of a spiritual world, under one guise or another, throughout all history, and well-nigh universally, have overshadowed human thought and faith. The most æsthetic peoples have populated forest and mountain, river and sea, with divinities. Belief in the varying forms of thaumaturgy, divination, witchcraft, sorcery, oracles, necromancy, demonology, has put a tremendous thrall upon the imagination of the entire race.

Science has gone far toward rationalizing nature's processes. On many and wide fields it has thoroughly breached and pulverized the hoary strongholds of superstition. Yet, on the whole, it seems to have made but a beginning toward exorcising from common thought the ghostly creations of the unscientific imagination. Even science itself is giving increasing right of way to a spiritual interpretation of the universe. While it has exploded many of the grosser superstitions, it finds itself now, as never before, soberly and insistently face to face with insuppressible spiritual phenomena.

As early as 1882 the English Society for Psychic Research was organized. It was the object of this Society to put upon the abundant data of supernormal psychic activities the most searching scientific analyses, to demonstrate, if possible, whether the reputed phenomena have any foundation in fact, or whether they are fictitious creations pure and simple. The men composing this organization were representative of the best English mind. Among them were Professor Henry Sidgwick, of Cambridge University, Frederick W. H. Myers, Balfour Stewart, Oliver J. Lodge, Arthur James Balfour, since Premier of England. Besides these, were many other men of kindred quality.

After patient pursuance of its quest for several years, this Society, with marked unanimity, announced certain definite and

what seemed to its workers demonstrated conclusions—among others this, that telepathy, the power of one mind, perhaps in physical location widely separated from another, to impress its own moods and thoughts upon that other mind without communicating through the ordinary channels of sensation. What is called telepathy, whether or not the term at all scientifically defines the underlying phenomena, stands now for a widely accepted scientific fact. It will doubtless ultimately reveal its inward trueness under the touch of Ithuriel's spear. But at present it is largely construed as a field for the activities of disembodied spirits. The human ghost, as Banquo's, will not down. Many acute and daring minds now believe that within the psychic field they have been able to establish communication with discarnate human spirits. Of all investigators, none perhaps has attracted wider attention than Sir Oliver Lodge. His acknowledged eminence in the scientific world has naturally signalized him from many others.

Sir Oliver is fully committed to belief in the mediumistic action of discarnate spirits upon mundane intelligence. The tragic destruction of 10,000,000 of the most virile young lives of the nations on battlefields and in hospitals has begotten a world-interest in, a world-hunger to know the relation of these dead to the possibilities of a post-mortem and continuous life. If indeed Sir Oliver and those who think with him have any demonstrated knowledge of a life beyond the grave, it might seem that they come with a timely and comforting message to a bereaved and sorrow-stricken humanity. In any event, these men are accepted by great numbers of stricken men and women as very nearly, if not quite, authoritative apostles who are giving us a new revelation of the spiritual world. It must be conceded that just now there is a wide psychological preparation for the message of these men.

Still, and altogether aside from the real value or want of value to human needs of a bona-fide communication to dwellers in the flesh from the discarnate spirits of departed friends, the bridge of certainty as to the fact itself is little better than a series of broken arches. Among the most astute investigators are many who, while freely admitting a wide range of psychic phenomena, are utterly skeptical as to the relation of any of the evidenced facts to post-

mortem activities of human spirits. There may be in it all the richest field for psychic research. It all may indicate hitherto whole unexplored provinces of the human soul. But even so, we seem at present to be in possession of no valid proof that our loved ones are actually discoursing to us from across the abyss.

No less acute a thinker than Dr. C. P. Jacks, editor of the Hibbert Journal, has submitted himself to the most guarded tests as to the reality of psychic communications. He seems entirely convinced as to the genuineness of the phenomena, but is equally doubtful that they are sourced in the activities of disembodied human spirits. The ante-mortem psychology of the human soul, infinite in suggestiveness, is a realm thus far very insufficiently explored. That we may be upon the borders of greatly enlarged psychic discoveries may be perhaps promptly conceded. But the assumption that we have really succeeded in installing wireless telegraphy across the chasm which separates the living from the dead seems at present of no more value than the gratuitous begging of a great question.

The claim that spirits do actually communicate intelligibly to the minds of the living is no new assumption. If it be a fact, it is not a modern discovery. Mediumistic communication by men with invisible spirits is a teaching of great antiquity in the Buddhistic faith. W. A. De Silva, an at-home authority on the subject, says:

> "The records of experience in regard to life here and hereafter, and beings seen and unseen, have been handed down by tradition and have been incorporated in the religious literature of the East, not as matters requiring investigation and proof, but as accepted facts that had been investigated and realized long ago by our ancient teachers and their remote ancestors. We now no more think of inquiring and experimenting for ourselves as to the existence of other beings, or the conditions and characteristics of such beings, than a person here thinks of investigating for himself the conclusions of science in connection with everyday physical phenomena."

The Occidental mind, realistic, skeptical, has accustomed itself to treat as fabulous and unworthy of scientific credence the vast testimony of the Oriental mind concerning the spiritistic universe. It is perhaps no more than just that the Western psychist

should be reminded that he is now doing little more than following the methods of his far-away brothers of the ancient East.

However our sympathies might respond to the wish that just now a sorrowing humanity might, through mediumistic or other methods of communication, receive clear and assuring revelation that it is well with the dead, it is both historically and morally certain that this has not been God's way of dealing with the race in its periods of tragedy. It remains seriously to ask, what, if any, moral values would be served by a demonstrated intercommunication between departed spirits and living men.

I

First, it would seem legitimate that the quality of messages purported to be received should figure in the estimate. It is rather notorious, and, on the whole, discreditable, that the great body of messages received through mediumistic channels is of an order unworthy of highest intellectual sources. The spirit whose antecedents in the flesh displayed only ordinary mentality is never known to give an utterance vibrant with inspiration. On the other hand, the real genius when summoned to human intercourse has often dealt in merest twaddle, in a style of expression and thought utterly under the plane of his ordinary expression in life.

The general triviality of messages received it has been impossible to conceal. Both Sir Oliver Lodge and James H. Hyslop have come forward with labored explanations as to why this should be. It still follows, however, that if we are to be favored with special revelations of the future state through the agency of spirits already arrived, we would naturally expect some uplifting and enlarging views of that life into which they have entered and toward which we journey. As yet, it is safe to say that the total of all purported messages yields no high moral compulsions. As inspiration to hope and guide to faith it is poor and meager as compared to the best literatures already in our possession. It has not in itself altogether the material from which could be born an inspiring hymnal for the church. It cannot be surprising that the men of materialistic bent are moved only with a sense of contempt

for such quality of revelation, and that they honestly prefer that death end all rather than to become citizens of such a future life as it seems to reveal.

II

What, it may be inquired, does the mediumistic system impart in the way of moral stimulus and spiritual benefits to its devotees? Does spiritism make men morally better? Does it put the soul upon heroic quest for nobler service to humanity, does it urge the mind in pursuit of best thought, does it bring to life compelling aspirations for the higher perfections of the spirit?

If we were to travel all occult spaces, and consult every oracle and agency through which men in all ages have sought to put themselves into communication with invisible intelligences, while we would be tremendously impressed with the mass of the phenomena, we would be correspondingly impressed with the dearth of moral values coming from it all. This kind of revelation does not furnish the type, the quality of inspiration which lifts man to his best moral selfhood.

The fact is, the human mind is so constituted that, if it could be habituated to familiar contact with departed spirits, it would simply accept such phenomena as a matter of course, and its impression would be that only of the commonplace. The Psalmist, speaking of the ancient Israelites, says: "Marvelous things did God in the sight of their fathers, in the land of Egypt in the field of Zoan. He divided the sea, and caused them to pass through; and he made the waters to stand as a heap. In the daytime also he led them with a cloud, and all the night with a light of fire. He clave rocks in the wilderness, and gave them drink abundantly as out of the depths. He brought streams also out of the rock, and caused waters to run down like rivers. Yet went they on still to sin against him, to rebel against the Most High in the desert. And they tempted God in their heart."

In the scene of the rich man and Lazarus, Christ teaches that if men will not heed Moses and the prophets, neither would they give heed though one should rise from the dead. Christ performed miracles. They had a certain evidential value as credentialing his

mission. But he did not give them a place of first importance. If men would enter into life, he put upon them with tremendous stress the necessity of purposely deciding *to do his will.* The most despotic, superstitious, and immoral periods of the church were those in which ecclesiastical miracles, outward restraints, and priestly authority were most insisted upon as guides of faith. Character is not made, man is not saved, by outward phenomena. Even though their path were sentinelled by a constant array of spiritual forces, men would not on that account be morally or spiritually better. The character that takes on moral values, that becomes beautiful in spiritual perfections, is one who at the very center of his soul has learned to hunger after, and who diligently trains his moral energies in pursuit of righteousness. And so, in moral and spiritual relations Christ's philosophy is forever right: He who neglects the means and motives for moral nurture already at his hand can never be saved by the extraphenomenal even though it should involve the bringing of one back from the dead.

III

We may be permitted to look a little closer at the rationale of the purported revelations. Inferentially, the character of the medium through which the message comes must somewhat gauge our estimate of the quality of the message itself. Witches, soothsayers, and oracles, whatever their celebrity or notoriety, have never made much impression upon the scientific mind. Their appeal, for the most part, has been made to the superstitious, the credulous. With varying degrees of discernment and resource, they have responded largely to the materialistic desires or to the guilty fears of their consultants. When translated into their true substance, the messages yield no new knowledge and furnish no new picture of a world other than that of which mortals already know. Their chief force is in their artificial investiture of mystery. There is no inherence in them of a divinity which enables them to make valuable contributions to spiritual knowledge, or to furnish motives for the moral betterment of the race.

And what, in general, are we to think of the mediumistic prophets of spiritism? In the first place, it can neither be concealed

nor ignored that a conspicuous service of the societies for psychical research has been to detect and to identify a vast amount of fraudulent conduct on the part of mediums. Their functioning in darkened rooms, or under conditions concealing their movements, have always challenged suspicion. The extent of discovered fraud puts a heavy cloud upon their title for genuineness.[1] Such discoveries do not lend confidence for credentialing the ordinary medium as a fit moral spokesman for the spiritual world.

And then, what about the intelligence, or, perhaps better, the inspiration, of the average medium? We have noted the general tawdriness of messages delivered. It is certain that, as compared with biblical inspiration and teaching, the whole total of so-called spiritistic revelations is on an inferior plane both of quality and method. The great prophets were not seancers. They did not deliver their messages from darkened rooms. They went out into the open as God's spokesmen to the nation. Their message was moral, resonant with rebuke against sin, voicing unyielding demand for repentance unto righteousness of life. Christ himself did not rely upon the occult. His first message was a call to men for repentance of sins in preparation for the kingdom of God. From first to last, his solemn urge upon the individual is that he secure for himself spiritual purity, moral likeness to God, without which he cannot enter into eternal life. The Holy Spirit, whose mission through all ages is to take of the things of Christ and to show them unto men, works solely by moral force. He does not resort to outward signs and wonders, but works from the inner seat of man's consciousness. He enlightens the understanding, gives reenforcement to the will, cleanses the fountains of motive, begets moral aspiration within the soul, and thus, working always from within, he produces that moral miracle in society—the man after God's own heart.

Is it rational to suppose that the God who has installed this moral gospel for the race is now, at this date in the Christian centuries, reenforcing his revelation by the employment of doubtful agencies, by the purported, but obscure and perplexed, messages of departed human spirits? Let the question answer itself.

[1] This, of course, is not intended to deny the facts of telepathy.

Christ furnished one infallible test by which we may judge of the quality and value of any moral system, namely: "By their fruits ye shall know them." Without category we may challenge the whole spiritistic movement to furnish one divine indorsement of its regenerating moral and spiritual values for mankind.

IV

The presumption is strong not only against the validity of mortal converse with discarnate spirits, but equally so as against its necessity for meeting the moral and spiritual needs of mankind. If God were to purpose for men some new revelation of the activities of the spiritual world, the presumption is that he would employ clear and intelligible methods for such revelation. The spiritistic processes do not meet the requirements. Either the mediums are poor translators, or the spirits themselves must be laboring against hitherto unsurmounted difficulties of expression. There are manifestly insuperable rational obstacles in the way of accepting the spiritistic phenomena as a revealment from God of the world on the other side of death.

In the revelation given by Jesus Christ, knowledge of the future world is made neither common nor cheap. Christ does, indeed, clearly bring to light life and immortality. He reveals a future which, for those prepared for its inheritance, will be forever exempt from the evils of the present life, a future which shall furnish unlimited scope for the Godlike development of the saints. But all this is furnished more by suggestion than by detailed description. There is nothing in it all to feed a maudlin curiosity, nothing to justify attempt at literal description of heavenly scenery. We are only assured that a life of surpassing glory awaits the redeemed. An infinite and priceless lure of that life is that its essential glory cannot be translated to us while we linger under the limitations of the flesh. The prevision and revelation of it all are in the keeping of an Infinite Father who waits his own order for the bringing of his many sons to glory.

The infinite stress of Christ's teaching is on the life that now is. Spiritual preparation, the attainment here and now of moral harmony with God, is the indispensable condition of future citi-

zenship in the heavenly life. The motives of the Christian life are such as to challenge every disciple to sublimest consecrations of service in the present world. This is the one world whose redemption cost the Cross of Calvary. Its salvation has challenged the infinite earnestness and has called forth the most costly sacrifices of God himself. It is an end to secure which God is marshaling the moral ministries of the universe. Every disciple of Christ is called to be a sharer in this sublime partnership. The human world is smitten with innumerable curses which must be removed by Christian agencies. Christians are ordained as God's world workers for humanity. Their true credentials are evidenced by their zeal for Christ's kingdom among men. It is their business to cleanse the morasses of the world, to transform the moral atmospheres of society, to plant the nations with the sowing of righteousness, until finally all men are won to the divine brotherhood of humanity in Jesus Christ. The universe, far or near, presents to mortal thought no so commanding mission as this. When contrasted with its sublimities, that one should squander time and energy by lingering in darkened rooms grasping for disjointed and inane messages, purporting to come from discarnate human spirits, would seem a very desecration. This whole spookish movement, claiming to come from beyond the gulfs of death, seems worthy to rank only as an evil juggling with the imagination. The moral rescue of a single child from evil courses, and the setting of its feet upon the pathway of Christian character and destiny, as an achievement is worth a thousandfold all the mediumistic revelations which have ever been given.

Christianity furnishes the sufficient moral diagram for human life. From its spirit of consecration and of faith have sprung the noblest moral heroisms of the race. Its vision of duty has inspired the greatest souls for sublimest achievement. Its spirit of faith has saved the strongest from the fatal slumps of materialism. Duty in the present, discharged in the spirit of affectionate loyalty to Jesus Christ, faith which trustfully leaves with God the entire diagram of the post-mortem life—these two display the sublimest attitudes of the human soul.

THE REFORM OF THE SCHOOL IN ITALY

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AMONG the nations which won the war Italy is the one that suffered the most economically and the one that finds it hardest to get reestablished on a normal basis. Strikes, riots, and party disagreements still maintain a state of agitation. And yet it is in the midst of this anomalous situation that a movement of thought and culture was born and is spreading that is sign of a true resurrection of the spirit of the nation.

Those who read the papers might easily believe that the entire attention of the Italian people is absorbed in the struggle between the government and the "arditi" (followers of D'Annunzio), or that between the conservatives and the socialists. Instead, there is something which stirs the intelligent class even more. What? The project for the reform of the school.

It is common knowledge that after the fifteenth century, during which Italian erudition awoke from a long sleep (it was the age of Bassarione, Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Vittorino da Feltre, Lorenzo Valla, Girolamo Savonarola), dawned the golden age of Italian culture. While the Reformation was moving along its destined course in the other countries of Europe, in Italy flowered the Renaissance of letters and arts, through which the nation took its place at the head of the culture of the world. The great universities of Bologna and Padua attracted students from all lands. The great establishments of the newborn art printed Greek and Latin classics at Milan, Florence, Venice, Parma, Piacenza, Rome; at Fano Arabic works were brought forth; in Soncino and Brescia the first Hebrew Bibles were printed. Art was glorified by Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo, Cellini, Titian, Sansovino, Sangallo. Philosophy regained its independence with Pomponazzi, Campanella, Telesio, and Bruno. Literature rose to new splendor in the great chivalric poems and also in the works of women of genius, such as Vittoria

Colonna, Tullia of Aragon, and Gaspara Stampa. Besides the historians Guicciardini and Machiavelli, who remade the history of Italy, there were Paolo Emili, who, beloved of Louis XII, wrote the first history of France; Polidoro Virgilio, to whom Henry VII gave the task of writing the first history of England; and others who created the histories of Hungary, Poland, The Lowlands, etc.

The following century, the seventeenth, marked the reawakening of the sciences. Cavalieri, Galilei, Torricelli, Aldovrandi, Fabrizio d'Acquapendente, Cesalpino, and (later) Galvani and Volta, were the masters of physics, anatomy, and electricity. Among the foreign scientists who made important discoveries at that time almost all had studied in Italy, and there touched the starting point of their discoveries. It is enough to cite the Pole Copernicus, the Belgian Vesalius, the Englishman Harvey.

But in the midst of such flourishing culture an event had occurred which was to transform the garden into a desert. The church, terrified by the advances of the Reformation and the reawakening of the spirit of men, had appointed a council to meet in Trent to undertake vigorously the work of counter reform. And this work succeeded, especially in regard to the school. The church took the school back into its own hands. The Jesuits, the order which had just appeared among the papal forces, became the sole instructors of youth. The great movement of Italian culture was stopped short. The school ceased to be the free arena for exercises of the mind, and became a factory where the intelligences of all were thrown into a narrow and uniform mold. For inspiration were substituted pedantic printed comments, for originality servile imitation. From the halls of learning there came forth no longer personalities, but guaranteed articles.

In spite of the appearance of a few rebellious geniuses this state of affairs lasted the whole of the eighteenth century and a part of the nineteenth—that is, until the first stirrings of the revolution which was to give to the nation its political unity. Then, in Naples, Italian culture suddenly reawoke through the labors of the great teachers Francesco Desanctis, Luigi Settembrini, and Bertrando Spaventa; the first two were critics of litera-

, the third a philosopher. With a vigorous sweep of her wings y returned to the glorious tradition of the Renaissance. The ol emancipated itself from the Jesuits and again created minds ead of puppets.

But unfortunately something happened which prevented the velous reawakening from bearing all the fruits which the na- had the right to expect from it. Partly to imitate the scho- ic arrangements of Germany, which had gained the reputation eing the most learned nation of Europe; partly to create ob- les against the private Catholic schools, which by their anti- astic, anticonstitutional character were a menacing danger to onal unity, the idea of intrusting education to the state pre- ed. Excepting the elementary schools, which remained in hands of the communes, all education (intermediate schools, er schools, and universities) was turned over to the state.

Teaching became a government monopoly. The few private ols that survived were placed in a position of inferiority, and uch inferiority that little by little, except for a few clerical ols which commanded the necessary means, they disappeared. urally, along with them disappeared emulation, competition, freshness of life which comes from private initiative. With- anyone desiring it, by the necessity of things, teaching as- ed a bureaucratic character which greatly harmed the school.

And to this difficulty was added another. Because of the nse need of instruction felt by the poorer classes the number tudents multiplied beyond all expectations, so that the schools e flooded by an ever-increasing multitude. The government mented as far as was possible the number of teachers and dings; but at a certain point, forced by the limits of its rev- es, it had to stop and declare it could do no more. The present lition of educational Italy is this: a crying and incurable dis- portion between the means of which the state disposes and demands that come from the nation.

Here we come to the projected school reform which I have ady suggested: the project which in these days is discussed by iament and absorbs the attention of the whole Italian people.

In substance the new law tends to reopen the doors to private

initiative and concurrence. The universities would remain in the hands of the state, and it would also take over the elementary schools which now belong to the communes. But in the intermediate education (which includes the classical, technical, professional, commercial, normal, etc., schools) the state would permit the concurrence of private institutions. In other words, the two ends of the chain (elementary schools and universities) would be in the hands of the state; along the rest of the chain private organizations would be allowed to operate—with the understanding, of course, that the state would exercise a strict control over the private schools by means of prescribed textbooks and examinations. Moreover, no one would be able to teach in these schools without having obtained university diplomas, which is to say, without having been judged competent by the state.

The originators of this project are Benedetto Croce, the philosopher, at present Minister of Public Instruction, on whom the University of Columbia conferred the gold medal, Professor Giovanni Gentile, head of the idealistic school of philosophy, and Professor Lombardo Radice, one of the most noted pedagogists. It would be too much to say that these men have already convinced the nation of the benefits of their project; in fact, by those who fear a reflowering of the Catholic school it is bitterly opposed. But there are good reasons to believe that in the end the scholastic reform thus conceived will triumph over all opposition.

That which it is important for us Protestants and Methodists to note is that this project affords us an opportunity to develop our educational work, for which, ten years ago, we did not even dare to hope. Under the old system, which seriously handicapped private instruction, not even a third of our program could be carried out. The best we could do was to send our boys to the state schools and give them a few supplementary courses. And this was in fact the system we followed, a system full of difficulties and of limited efficacy.

But now the narrow wall which surrounded us on all sides and prevented our extending our roots and branches is thrown down. We can grow. We can develop in Italy also the program which we have developed with such marvelous success elsewhere.

And I think that if in times past, notwithstanding the numer- difficulties imposed by the law, we have been able to give to new Italian national life youths nourished on solid culture and pired by the ideals of the gospel, youths who have made good l acquired the admiration and esteem of all, what may we do now that the law favors us and encourages us to expend our energies in the educational field, to compete with others, do all that we are capable of doing?

It seems a sign from God, an indication of Providence. ink! The scholastic reform will be passed by parliament and ome law at the time when, on Monte Mario, the foundations the great Methodist Collegio are being laid. Never in the his- y of Italian Evangelicalism has there been such a fortunate eting of our plans and those of the state, of our ideas and cir- nstances. There is no doubt that the erection of this institu- n—which has already drawn to itself the attention of the most resentative men of Italy—will be the most important work omplished by us or others for the formation of the new genera- n of this extraordinary people, which always renews itself and er grows old. When, from Monte Mario, come forth archi- ts, lawyers, teachers, professors, doctors, journalists, merchants, iness men, officers, writers, musicians, poets, preachers—men of ught and men of action whom we will have prepared for life, only by giving them a solid culture, but by fixing their hearts the side of Christ, and giving to their souls not weights of lead wings—then Italy will feel a new fire of life pervade her blood, l will become aware of the good (and what great good!) that y come out of Nazareth.

By now—this is another sign of the times, another happy ncidence brought about by Providence—the Italian pedagogues no longer adverse to religious education, as were those of the t fifty years who accepted positivist and agnostic philosophy. e narrow materialism which has reigned in the schools in re- ion to the Catholic dogmatism is disappearing, and Mazzini's a of placing the spirit of God at the base of education is reap- ring. Giovanni Calò of Florence, Lombardo Radice of Catania, vanna Gentile and Bernardino Varisco of Rome, distinguish

between religion and the Roman Catholic catechism, and wish that God, The Spirit, and high moral ideals should again be talked of in the schools.

Giovanni Papini, the most popular writer of Italy, who makes one think of G. K. Chesterton, has been converted to Christianity, and declares that the truth is in one book only, the gospel, which "all know, some read, and no one puts in practice." From Monte Mario there will come down, to take the first places in Italian life (I mean the places of greatest responsibility), a generation which will set itself to putting the gospel into practice.

Then it will come about that the problem of Italian education, which the new law is about to solve on its technical side, will also be solved in its moral substance. The traditions of the Renaissance will live again, but animated by the spirit of the religious Reformation, to which Italy wrongly closed its doors in the sixteenth century. The classics will be studied, but upon them will fall the light of the gospel. Science will give its hand to Faith, and Faith to Science. Culture will not be a perfect but cold statue of marble, but a living person. It will have a heart, and that heart will know God.

1521. GOTT HELFE MIR. AMEN. 1921

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THE appearance of Luther before the German Diet (Reichstag) was not only the most dramatic event in Church History, but it was one of the most important as well. It was a turning point in history. His very appearance itself was a sign of a new age. For look: Here was a monk, confessedly a heretic according to the standards of his church, abusively a heretic, an excommunicated heretic, at the climax of his heresies (for after 1521, and especially after 1525, he began to react toward more Catholic views)—and yet he is still teaching theology, especially the New Testament, in his University, he is still preaching in his pulpit, he is still publishing abroad his views, and he is invited to appear, in a complimentary letter of the emperor, before the German section of the Holy Roman Empire! Yes, my masters, a change had come over the world.

But why was he allowed to come? Why was not the second and decisive bull of excommunication of January 2, 1521, executed, and Luther turned over to Rome as demanded, to be finished, probably to be burned alive? Well, the most important prince in Germany was on his side, the elector (one of those who had the right to elect the Holy Roman Emperor), Frederick the Wise of Saxony. He had been himself a candidate for the imperial crown, had refused it, and had turned over his vote and influence to Charles. There is still a dispute as to how far Frederick's own heart was in the Reformation. It was only at the very last that he deliberately by a religious act identified himself with Luther's cause. At any rate he protected him, he allowed him to do his work, and perhaps it was providential that he did not give him radical support, or formally cut himself off from his church. Then many of the nobles of Germany, many of the clergy, and large masses of the people were more or less in favor of Luther. The latter had repeatedly appealed to a General Council; that appeal found an echo among thousands, even among staunch Cath-

olics. The sense of fair play in the Teuton mind responded to the thought that Luther must not be finally condemned till he had an impartial hearing before his theological peers. Finally, when the young emperor (he was now twenty-one, a zealous Catholic, but his religion held in check by his politics) asked why Frederick did not carry out the pope's bull of excommunication, the elector replied that Luther should answer before the estates of the empire before he was condemned.

The emperor was between two fires. There was, first, his own feeling that the German rulers had a right to see and hear Luther. He was under obligation to Frederick for his crown, and it would be perfidy not to meet the desires of that prince half way. He also wanted the help of Germany in the coming war with France, and as the French king and the pope played into each other's hands he was not over-fierce in pleasing his Holiness just now. But there was, second, the notorious fact that Luther was a formally excommunicated heretic, under the awful ban of the church, whom it was a sin to favor in any way whatever, even to the giving him a cup of cold water (unless it was poisoned), and to allow him to come to the parliament of the empire to be heard was a scandalous impiety to Holy Mother Church, an outrage on her doctrines and her head the pope, something never known before in history. These reasons were urged on the emperor with earnest and repeated emphasis by the two papal legates to his court, Aleander and Cariacciolo, and it is almost a miracle that they did not prevail, especially on a Catholic heart so sound as Charles's.

Political considerations prevailed, and so we have the most moving event in Reformation history. These considerations were unblushingly urged by Charles's ambassador in Rome in a letter of May 12, 1520.

> If your Majesty go to Germany you ought to show some favor to a certain friar who calls himself Friar Martin, who is staying with the elector of Saxony. The pope is exceedingly afraid of him as he preaches openly against the authority of Rome, and is said to be a great scholar. I think he would be a good means to force the pope to conclude an alliance. I am, however, of the opinion that these ought to be employed only if the pope refuses to make an alliance, or if he afterward breaks it (Smith, Luther's Correspondence, i, 318).

As Dau says, Luther had become a pawn on the political chess-board of Europe.

It is interesting to read the documents which brought Luther to Worms. The citation reads:

Charles, by God's grace Roman Emperor Elect, at all times Augmentor of the Realm, etc.

Honorable, dear and pious Sir! As we and the estates of the Holy Empire here assembled have purposed and decided to obtain information about the doctrine and books which have been issued by you some time ago, we have given and hereby send you our and the empire's free and straight safe-conduct to come hither and return to your safe dwelling. We desire that you start promptly, so as to be with us here without fail within the twenty-one days fixed in our safe conduct, and that you do not stay away for fear of any force or wrong. For we shall strictly hold you to this safe-conduct, and absolutely rely on your coming. By so doing you will act in accordance with our serious purpose.

To the Honorable our dear and pious Dr. Martin Luther, of the Augustinian Order.

Given in our imperial city of Worms on the 6th day of the month of March, 1520. (The safe-conduct reads:)

We, Charles V, by God's grace Roman Emperor Elect, at all times Augmentor of the Realm of Germany, Spain, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, etc., King Archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy, Count of Habsburg, Flanders and Tyrol, etc.

Declare that inasmuch as we have for good reasons invited Martin Luther of the Augustinian Order hither to Worms, we have to that end given and promised to him our and the Holy Empire's free and straight safe-conduct, and by virtue of our Imperial Majesty we publish this fact by means of this letter. Accordingly within twenty-one days from the day of the delivery of this letter he is to come hither to Worms and there await our and the Diet's action, and then return hence to his safe place uninjured and unhindered by us and by all men. By this letter we earnestly command all Electors and Princes, spiritual and temporal, Prelates, Counts, Barons, Lords, Knights and their attendants, Captains, Provosts, Bailiffs, Wardens, Lieutenants, Officers, Judges, Burgomasters, Justices, Counsellors, Citizens and Commons, and all other our and the Empire's loyal subjects, in whatever office, station or condition they may be, and desire that they keep inviolate this safe-conduct for the said Martin Luther, to escort and have him escorted on his journey hither and back; and on the other hand that they do not injure or grieve him, nor permit any one else to do so in any way, under pain of our and the Empire's severe displeasure and punishment. This letter gives notice of our earnest purpose. Given in our imperial city of Worms, on the sixth day of March, 1520, in the second year of our reign as Emperor, and in the sixth of our other sovereignties. (See Smith, *lib. cit.* i, 482-4.)

When a monk traveled in those days he went on foot, as

Luther did in his celebrated visit to Rome in 1511. How different now! The city of Wittenberg furnished him with a wagon with three horses, and the University with a present of twenty gulden. The imperial herald, Storm, rode ahead with the sign of the imperial eagle on his arm, and accompanied by his servant. Companions of Luther in the wagon were Petzensteiner representing his brother friars, Swayen the students, and Amsdorf the faculty. There was risk in this, as they had no safe-conduct. If you take your atlas you can easily trace the route. The first stop was Leipzig, where the party excited no attention, except that the city council sent a gift of wine. At Naumburg the burgomaster invited Luther to dinner, and a priest gave him a picture of Savonarola, which the reformer might interpret in one of four ways, as a compliment, an insult, a joke, or a horrible sign of premonition. At Weimar he saw for the first time the edict for the sequestration of his books which papal legate Aleander had won from Charles, and which made Luther turn pale. The herald Storm asked, "Will you still go to Worms?" "Yes," said Luther. The Weimar priest and Franciscan monk Myconius, from whom we have a valuable history of the times, says that his fellow-townsmen ran from all sides to see the newcomers, especially the *Wunderman* who was so bold, and who dared to speak against the pope and all the world. Some comforted him very evilly that there were so many cardinals and bishops in Worms at the Reichstag, that they would burn him to powder, as happened to Huss at Kostnitz (Constance). But the ashes of neither Huss nor Savonarola terrified him, says Myconius. For Luther answered: "If they make a fire from Wittenberg to Worms that reaches to heaven, I will still go to Worms, because I am summoned, appear in the name of the Lord, step in the mouth of Behemoth between his big teeth, and confess Christ and let him dispose." I wonder did Luther's testimony win over the Weimar monk, as three years later he left the monastery and became evangelical pastor at Gotha.

At Erfurt he had a great time. Here he had been a student at the University 1501-05, inmate of Augustinian Friary 1505-08, teacher 1509-11; here he had imbibed the "modern" theology of Ockham; here he had entered on those religious experiences which

ended in the peace of faith when the later lectured on Paul's epistles at Wittenberg, and here, therefore, he was at home. He was met by a company of former students and teachers with the University Rector Crotus at their head, and they received him like a lord. "Rejoice, lofty Erfurt," cried Crotus. "Crown thy festive head with laurel; for see, he comes who cleanses thee from the reproach under which thou hast so long sighed." On the next day (Sunday) Luther preached in the church of the Augustinian cloister, in whose choir he had sat for years as a simple brother. Justification by faith was his theme. "One builds churches, another pilgrimages to Saint James (the celebrated shrine at Santiago de Compostella in Spain) or to Saint Peter (in Rome), goes barefoot, fasts, or does something else. Such works are nothing, and must be rooted out from the bottom." "As Christ hung between two murderers on the cross, there has he won our salvation." "Look at priests who make a conscience of saying mass, fasting if they have eaten only three sugar-corns, but think not a heart full of envy and evil a hindrance. That means to go to heaven with the devil. I know you will not like to hear this, but I must speak the truth. Therefore I stand here." A thoroughly characteristic sermon. Here Luther's presence of mind saved a panic. A too full gallery began to crack, and the people rose in terror to save themselves. "Be still, dear people; it is the devil, who starts a mock-fight; be still, there is no danger. I know thy tricks, Satan." His followers looked upon it as a miracle, and an Erfurt chronicler says, "This is the first sign which Luther did, and his disciples came to him and served him." The University gave him a banquet, though Crotus confessed that this was not agreeable to the pious father, but, he added, the "Word of God whose champion he is must in any case be honored." He accompanied him out of the city for some hours, and his old friend the Humanist Coban cried to him in farewell, "Uncover the Roman deceits, the shame of the whole earth. Great Germany will enter for thee in the holy struggle. Go and fear thee not!"

Space will not allow us to follow this famous journey step by step which Hausrath has told with fascinating interest in the first volume of his notable Luther's Leben (chap. 20, Berlin,

1905). From Frankfurt he wrote to his friend and former student at Erfurt and Wittenberg, Spalatin, at Worms, librarian and chaplain to Elector Frederick: "We have come, my Spalatin, though Satan has tried to prevent me by more than one attack of illness. For on the whole journey from Eisenach here I have been sick in a way I never knew before. That the mandate of Charles (against his books) was published to frighten me, I see. But Christ lives, and we shall come to Worms, all the gates of hell and powers of the air to the contrary notwithstanding."

Luther arrived in Worms April 16, on the day his safe-conduct expired, and was put up at the inn of the Sign of the Tuft or Bush on Kornmarkt. His friends had seen to it that his coming was announced. The watchman sounded his horn, and thousands flew from their breakfast tables as they heard the hoofs of the horses upon the streets. By the time he reached his quarters on the Johanniterhof, two thousand people had streamed around. The ever faithful nuncio Aleander must have been one of them, for he wrote to his master the pope: "When he left the wagon, a priest embraced him, touched his garment three times, and congratulated himself as he went away as though he had had in his hands a relic of the greatest saint. I suspect that we shall soon be hearing that he does miracles. This Luther as he came down from the wagon looked around with his demonic eyes and said, 'God will be with me.' Then he entered a room, where many gentlemen sought him out, with ten or twelve of whom he dined, and after the meal the whole world ran to see him."

The alleged embarrassment of Luther's first reply at the Reichstag makes it necessary to realize how he passed the hours till he was called in at four o'clock the next day. Notice the able men he had around him. In the same house with him dwelt the Saxon counselors von Feilitzsch and von Thun. He shared his room with Hirschfeld and Schott. As advocate and legal adviser he had by his side his colleague on the law faculty at Wittenberg, Schurf. Chancellor Brück and librarian Spalatin, both in the confidence of the elector, were near by in Schwanen, where Frederick himself had his quarters. There is no doubt that in the thirty hours that passed before Luther made that first historic appear-

ance almost every possibility had been discussed, and that Luther was not only not nonplussed and frightened but replied exactly as he had arranged. Between the chancellor and the elector there had gone careful written proposals as to the consequences, etc., of Luther's appearance before the Diet. Would they or others not also have counseled with Luther? Hausrath is right, then, when he says: "When Luther at the first hearing asked for time for reflection, that was the tactic recommended by his counselors, and not, as generally thought, an attack of indecision and weakness. That Spalatin at that time had very earnestly worked with him we know distinctly from a letter from the Wartburg in which Luther, in a time of tension with the court, on September 9, 1521, wrote that his conscience threw up to him all too loudly that, following Spalatin's and his friend's counsel, he had damped his spirit, and over against those idols or false gods (his opponents at the Diet) he had not played the Elijah. 'They would hear other things if I were to be placed among them again.' That therefore the right tactics were discussed with him there is not the least doubt, and he had himself other intentions which he unwillingly gave up. What he did he did out of obedience to elector and to friends; it was not the giving in to a momentary embarrassment" (i, 425). I believe his counselors were right, and that a bolder, more precipitate and extemporary and therefore reckless utterance might have, humanly speaking, dished Luther's prospects and destroyed the Reformation.

Early in the morning of April 17, 1521, the imperial marshal, Ulrich von Pappenheim, came to his room and told him that on that afternoon at four he was to appear before kaiser and empire at the bishop's palace (where the Reichstag's sessions were held), and hear why he was summoned. In the meantime he was not too busy to hear the confession of a Saxon knight, absolve him, and administer the sacrament. Aleander, who, as we have seen, tried to prevent the hearing at all, then tried to keep Luther shut off from his friends in a room in the emperor's palace and also failed in that, then went to the emperor or his representatives and was successful in securing that Luther should make no confession or defense or explanation, but simply answer to certain predeter-

mined questions. These questions Aleander himself wrote out, and they were faithfully followed at the hearing. The nuncio wanted one hearing only, that one as brief and formal as possible, to be answered by yes or no, and then Luther rolled away in his wagon that very night. If Luther had "fallen" to that program what an anticlimax to the history thus far! He knocked the intrigue by asking for time.

At the hour Imperial Marshal Von Pappenheim and Imperial Herald Sturm, the latter the same who had guided him from Wittenberg, called to fetch him. Owing to the fearful crowds they had to take another way, perhaps for safety too, for "in the press a Spaniard could easily have merited heaven by a poniard stroke." Several urged the monk not to fear and act the man. Apparently he did not need encouragement. He entered smiling, greeted what friends he saw, took everything in, and had to be told by the marshal to say nothing except as he was asked. He made an unfavorable impression on others besides the kaiser, who said afterward, "He would not make me a heretic." Aleander with great pains had collected all the books of Luther he could get his hands on and they lay on a bench before him. The Official of the archbishop of the electoral city of Trier, Johann von Eck (the title "Official" is technical here, and means the business representative of a bishop or archbishop; this Eck is to be distinguished from the famous Johann Maier von Eck) was chosen to represent the emperor and Reichstag in the questions. "Do you acknowledge these books as yours, and do you recant them?" Luther was about to reply, when his advocate Schurf called out, "Let the titles be read." This was done by the notary. Luther acknowledged them as his. The second question was not so simple. "Do you hold to these books or do you recall them?" On that Luther said: "As this is a question of faith and of the soul's salvation and has to do with God's Word, which is the highest in heaven and upon earth, which we must all reverence, it would be presumptuous and dangerous for me to put forth anything without thought. I might say less than the matter demanded, or more than was in conformity with truth, and thus speak inconsiderately, and both would bring me under the judgment, Who denies me before men him will I also deny

before my Heavenly Father. Therefore I most humbly beseech from his imperial Majesty time for reflection, that upon the proposed questions I may rightly answer without prejudice to God's word and without danger to my soul's salvation."

This answer was not only in itself the best and most fitting that Luther could have made, but it was also the cleverest. It prevented his opponents from making his hearing an empty one and then getting him away. It secured his remaining a little time at least in or near the Reichstag, with the influence which that meant, and a certain degree of free statement before it. Aleander and Eck saw that well, said that he "began to devise legalities and seek ways of escape." The legend that Luther was timid and fearful before the Reichstag and spoke low goes back to one of its members, Furstenberg from Frankfurt, who, however, stood at a distance and could not hear well on account of the noise. Aleander, who stood near and faced Luther, held another language. Spalatin wrote home that Luther had "so christianly witnessed that it was remarked that he feared nothing on earth, but would have ventured a hundred necks before he would have recalled a letter without proof from the divine Word." In the last of his life, speaking of the Worms experience, Luther said: "I was unafraid. God can make one so reckless. I do not know whether I should be so joyful now."

A consultation was held, and a respite of twenty-four hours was given. At the express command of the kaiser, Official Eck warned Luther that he should use the time to bethink himself how much he had gone against the Holy See in his writings, and what heretical teachings he had scattered abroad. Luther's first answer had been oral (first in Latin, then in German; Charles knew no Latin and not much German, but spoke French). He now set himself to put his second and what he must have known his final answer in writing. The next day at four (April 18, 1521) the same officers led him by the same way to the same place to hear practically the same question from the same Official Eck. "Yesterday you asked for time for reflection, which is now passed. You had no right to it, for you have long known why you were called, and in matters of faith every one is certain and can give

answer at any time, let alone you so great and learned professor of theology. Then answer now finally the demand of the kaiser, whose kindness you have experienced. Will you defend all the books which you acknowledge as yours, or will you take back something?" Then followed the most memorable speech ever made in a parliament, which is famous enough to be given practically in full. He spoke in a clear, firm voice, yet modestly with knee slightly bent.

Most illustrious, almighty Kaiser! Illustrious Princes! Most gracious and gracious Lords! At the termination of the time fixed yesterday obedient I appear, and for the sake of the mercy of God may your imperial Majesty and Graces graciously to hear this cause, which as I hope is the cause of righteousness and truth. If on account of inexperience I have not given anyone his due title or in any way acted against court custom, pardon me who have not been brought up in princely courts but in monks corners. I can testify no otherwise than I have hitherto taught and written with such simplicity of spirit, that I have sought only the honor of God and the pure instruction of Christian believers.

Most gracious Kaiser! Most gracious and gracious electors, Princes, and Lords! Upon the two articles laid before me yesterday I that day gave clear answer on the first article, upon which I again confess that these books are mine, unless indeed through deception of an unfriendly hand or unskillfulness something has been changed or perverted.

As to the other article I beg your imperial Majesty and Graces to observe that my books are not of one kind. For there are some which handle faith and morals so simply and evangelically that even my opponents acknowledge that they are innocent and worthy to be read by Christians. Also the bull, however ferocious, declares that some of my books are harmless, though it condemns even these by an unnatural judgment. If I recant these what do I except condemn the truth which friend and foe alike confess. Another class of my books is that which goes against the papacy and the doctrine of the papists [there had been good Roman Catholics who represented the General Council appeal as over against the distinctively papal, and Luther places himself on their side. It was nothing new for excesses of popes to be severely condemned, though of course Luther had gone farther] who by teaching and example have wasted Christendom in body and soul. For it cannot be denied as it is the experience and complaint of all, that by papal laws and doctrines of men, the consciences of Christians have been miserably caught and tortured, goods and property particularly in the German nation have disappeared by unbelievable tyranny. And yet they say (refers to canon law) in their own law that laws and teachings contrary to gospel and the Fathers are to be held as erroneous. If then I recall these books I would strengthen the tyranny, and open not only the window but also the door to what is unchristian, and at the same time it could be said that this is done by

authority of the imperial Majesty and of the whole Roman empire. Good God, what kind of a covering I would be for evil and tyranny!

The third kind of books are those which have been written against individuals who have undertaken to protect the Roman tyranny and to wipe out the blessed doctrine which I teach. Against these I confess to have been more passionate than was seemly. For I claim to be no saint, and dispute not over my own life but over the doctrine of Christ. But I cannot recant even these books for fear I thereby lend assistance to tyranny and godlessness.

Still since I am a man and not God, I cannot defend my books otherwise than the Lord Christ who, when asked as to his teaching and struck in the back by a servant said, "Have I spoken evil? then prove that it is evil." So if the Lord himself, who knew that he could not err, did not refuse to hear proof against his teaching from the basest servant, how much more must I the humblest erring creature expect and desire any one to bring testimony against my teaching. Therefore for the sake of the divine mercy, I pray your imperial Majesty, illustrious Lords, or any one else high or low, convince me of error and overcome me with prophetic and evangelical Scriptures. I am most willing, if I am refuted, to recall every error, and shall be the first to throw my books in the fire. Of course I have myself sufficiently thought of the danger, dissension and commotion which has arisen on account of my teaching, of which I was earnestly reminded yesterday. But to me it is fine to see zeal and dissension over God's Word, for so is the course of the divine Word, as the Lord said: "I am not come to send peace but a sword; for I am come to incite a man against his father and the daughter against her mother." Therefore we must think how wonderful and terrible our God is in his judgments, lest when we now undertake to restore peace we make a beginning of the condemnation of the divine Word and thus a flood of unbearable evil. Let us think and look to it that this noble young kaiser Charles, from whom next to God there is much to hope, does not make an unblessed beginning and an unhappy rule. I could bring plenty of examples from Holy Scripture, of Pharaoh, of the King of Babylon and of the Kings of Israel, who prepared for themselves the worst consequences just when they thought to make their empire peaceful and strong by the cleverest proposals. For he it is who catches the wise in their own cleverness (1 Cor. 3. 19) before they know it. Therefore the main thing is to fear God. I do not say that as though such high chiefs (as yourselves) needed my teaching and warning, but because I cannot withdraw myself from the service which I owe my Germany. So herewith I commend myself to your most illustrious Majesty and to your Lordships, humbly praying that you will not allow me to be calumniated and disgraced by my opponents. I have spoken. (From German text in Kawerau's Köstlin's Luther, 5 Aufl., i 414-7.)

Though Luther did not, as I understand, read this famous speech, he had thoroughly prepared it, and it goes back to his own copy. He spoke it first in Latin, and though every educated man

in his time could read and speak Latin, it shows how poorly equipped even the high ones of the earth were that he was compelled to give it also in German. The room was overcrowded, the heat was intense, and Luther was so visibly exhausted that his room-neighbor at the inn, von Thun, cried out in alarm as he started to render his address in German, "You cannot do it. It is enough, Herr Doctor." But he summoned all his strength, and went through it in German in the same earnest though modest way.

The Kaiser had expressly promised the papal nuncio that he would not interfere in matters of doctrine. Therefore the Official Eck, who was, of course, indignant at Luther's speech, said to him loudly and angrily,

> Less modestly than becomes you, Brother Martin, you have answered and not to the point. If you had recanted what is heretical, the mildness of the Kaiser would have allowed no persecution of what is good. But you want to make to live again what was condemned by the Constance Council, and act therefore like a crazy man. If your heresies had been discovered by you for the first time, the imperial Majesty might petition the Holy Father to appoint able and learned men to test you and see that justice was done you. But your errors are the teachings of the old heretics, the Waldenses, Wiclif, Huss and others, who have been already condemned by the holy councils. Therefore it is not necessary to contend over this, as it is already decided by God and by Right (law). There are more learned men in the world than you. Did God leave the church in error until you? If you had recanted what is already condemned, then one could see what is good and Christian in your other books. Give then a clear answer without horns or cloak.

Thus challenged, Luther immediately replied, probably in Latin and then in German, in words immortal in all languages:

> *Since your Majesty and the lords desire a simple answer, I shall give one without horns or teeth* [that is, without sophistry, a plain, candid, quick statement of my position: see Meissner's investigation in Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, 1906, 321ff], *namely: Unless I am overcome by Scripture and plain reasons* [Preuss has shown in a very able article in Theol. Studien und Kritiken, vol. 81, pp. 62ff (1908) that Luther did not mean by *ratione evidente* general rational grounds but fair rational inferences from Scripture], *for I believe neither pope nor councils alone, because it is certain that they have often erred and contradicted themselves, as I am overcome by the Scriptures brought forward by me and my conscience is held in God's Word,—I can recant nothing and will recant nothing, because to act against conscience is not safe, and is not sincere. God help me. Amen.*

(These words are authentic, as they go back to an account written immediately after by Luther.)

The declaration that councils could err made a sensation, and led the Kaiser, through Eck, to ask him now definitely as to this. Luther replied that the Constance Council had decided in the face of clear texts of Scripture. Charles then arose, a sign that the session was over, with the words, "I have enough." As others began to move out of the oppressive heat and crowd of the hall, Eck cried out to Luther: "Let your conscience go, Martin, as you are obligated, since it is in error, for you shall certainly and unconditionally recant: That councils have erred in matters of faith no one can prove. In matters of discipline, I will readily grant you." "I can prove it," said Luther. As he was leaving Luther said, according to eyewitness, "God come to my help." An undated Wittenberg sheet made Luther say, "Here I stand, I cannot otherwise, God help me," which, however, were in print before he died, and may have been revised by him. We cannot say definitely that Luther did *not* say the familiar words; we can only say they are not sufficiently authenticated historically. But, as Hausrath well remarks, "Luther's fame is not that he said, 'Here I stand,' but that he stood. On that friends and foes were one. He had spoken more courageously than the Papists liked, testified Spalatin. The Spaniards who were present could hardly curb their rage, and followed Luther as he departed with hisses and taunts" (i. 440). Well, as the stake was impossible for them then and there, we may excuse their insults.

The able young historian Hermelink says that while in estimation of posterity Luther at Worms stood on the high peak of his life, for his inner development and the advance of his cause that Worms day did not essentially matter (Reformation und Gegenreformation, 1912, pp. 74-75). I do not dispute that. Still the veteran historians Köstlin, Hausrath, and Kolde were also right when they said that that day had world-historical significance. For what did it mean? (1) It was in a real sense a formal appeal from pope and priest to a lay court, the first of the kind to lay intelligence. In staging that appeal the pious prince Frederick the Wise of Saxony (for he chiefly was back of it) was

inaugurating an era in the history of the world. (2) It was the first time when in such a court the determining influence of church councils was repudiated. For 1,200 years that influence had been taken as a matter of course, for doctrine and for church matters in general. That an ecumenical council properly constituted could fundamentally err, that the highest parliament in Christendom heard for the first time from the little peasant monk in 1521. Of course, the Vatican Council practically said the same thing in 1870 in making the pope instead of councils *the* organ of infallibility, but that was the only one of the many changes which history records of the ever changeless Roman church. (3) Never before under such auspices had an appeal been made from the spiritual judges of mankind, from church and clergy and princes and kings, to God alone and to His Word. (4) That appeal had in its heart and has worked out for all mankind the freedom of the soul in matters of religion. Without knowing it Luther won on that day for all mankind freedom of conscience. He was great enough to do the deed, to take the first step in the spiritual emancipation of mankind, even if he was not great enough to see all the consequences nor later to take those consequences in dealing with Anabaptists or others. (See the admirable remarks of Kolde, Luther in Worms, in Würzburger Luthervorträge, 1903, p. 23, and of Walker, The Reformation, 1900, p. 119.) There are other heroes. But it was Luther who said in his last writing just before leaving Worms: "I know and am certain that Jesus Christ our Lord lives and reigns. Because I know and believe that, I shall not fear even many thousands of papists, for greater is he who is in us than he who is in the world" (1 John 4.4). To have stood true to that faith at the risk of life itself in a scene of incomparable grandeur, dramatic intensity, and both religious and secular significance, sets apart 1521 as a crisis in history, to the vast blessings of which we and our children to the last generation are the heirs.

OUR CHANGING EPISCOPACY

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From the first, the declared attitude of our church has been that our episcopacy is an office and not an order. It is well known that John Wesley, while he favored the Episcopal form of church government for his followers in America and made provision for the establishment of such a church, was strongly opposed to the hierarchical pretensions which had gathered about the episcopacy and opposed the use of the title bishop in our church until he was convinced that our church in America meant by the word bishop only what he meant by the word superintendent. James M. Buckley quotes from Richard Watson what Dr. Buckley calls the best statement of Wesley's position on this question as follows:

> "Wesley did not pretend to ordain bishops in the modern sense but only according to his view of primitive episcopacy . . . founded upon the principle of bishops and presbyters being of the same *degree*, a more extended *office* only being assigned to the former as in the primitive church. For nothing can be more obvious than that the primitive pastors are called bishops and presbyters indiscriminately in the New Testament, yet at an early period those presbyters were, by way of distinction, denominated bishops, who presided at meetings of the presbyters, and were finally vested with the government of several churches with their respective presbyteries; so that two *offices* were then, as in this case, grafted upon the same *order*."[1]

Aside from John Wesley himself, there was no higher authority in early Methodism than Richard Watson, and certainly in modern times there is no higher authority on questions of Methodist history than Dr. Buckley; and as this statement is in complete accord with all that Wesley wrote on the subject, we may accept it as final.

In spite of Wesley's position and the early action of the Methodist Episcopal Church in practically deposing Bishop Coke, the theory that our episcopacy is an order, sometimes even with the high church conception of order, soon manifested itself in the

[1] Buckley, page 285.

church. Utterances of our earlier bishops not infrequently indicate hierarchical conceptions of their position. I have even heard a modern bishop, who is still living, declare on three separate occasions that there are three orders in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Once he made that statement at an ordination service, and the impression was created that the utterance was official. In every case his culminating argument was this: "If any of you elders think the episcopacy is not an order, you go out and try to confer orders and see what will happen to you."

As the orders of our church all come through a presbyter named John Wesley, it is easy to wonder where the good bishop thinks he would land if he should succeed in sawing off the limb on which he is sitting. It will be noted that the claim that a bishop must be of a superior order because he has authority which an elder, under ordinary conditions, does not possess, rests upon the assumption that an office cannot confer upon its holder any authority which he would not have without the office. It, therefore, needs no reply.

Not only are our bishops not of a separate order, forming a sort of a third house, with perhaps something of legislative power, but they do not have the power even of an ordinary preacher or layman in making our laws. A bishop has neither voice nor vote in our legislative body, the General Conference. He is not eligible to membership in that body. He cannot even vote for a member of that body. Bishops alone, among our people of voting age, are disfranchised. Not all of this is clear in our written law, but it is all clear if we include the unwritten law. Moreover, by the same unwritten law a bishop cannot participate in the discussions of an Annual Conference. The reasons for these unwritten laws may not be entirely clear. They seem to grow out of a conviction that the powers given to the bishops, as administrators, are so great that the liberties of preachers and churches would not be safe, if to the administrative powers of the bishops there should be added anything of legislative power.

The bishop's greatest power is exercised in making the appointments of pastors to churches. Every preacher, when he joins an Annual Conference, promises to accept the work to which he is

assigned. Every member, when he joins the church, promises to be cheerfully governed by the rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The bishop sends the preacher where he wills. The preacher must go. The church must receive him. The preacher intrusts everything to the bishop; his taste as to the location in which he shall live; his preference as to the type of people with whom he shall labor; the temporal support of himself and family; the health of himself and family; and moral and social environment of his children; their education; every essential earthly interest is at the command of the bishop. This is true of every one of the hundreds or thousands of preachers under a bishop's supervision.

All the interests of the local church are largely dependent upon the pastor. If the bishop selects the pastor, it follows that the church, also, very largely intrusts all its interests to the bishop. This is a tremendous, if not dangerous, power to put into the hands of any man. Moreover, neither the preachers nor the churches have, as yet, any voice in selecting the advisors of the bishop, the district superintendents. Probably no other ecclesiastic in Protestantism has anything like the arbitrary power of a Methodist Episcopal bishop. The defense of this policy is that it is essential to our itinerancy and that our itinerancy works marvelously well in advancing the cause of Christ. To this I assent, only I believe that both preachers and laymen could be given a voice in either nominating the district superintendent or confirming the nomination made by the bishop, without injury to our itinerant system. In fairness, it ought to be stated that some of our bishops always, and all of our bishops sometimes, grant to our preachers and churches much more power in making the appointments than the law of the church requires. Nevertheless, the great power is fully in his hands.

With all his authority, however, the bishop is only an officer and not a superior in order. This has always been true theoretically. Practically the opposite view began to manifest itself very early in our history, not only in the minds of the bishops, as before indicated, but also in the feelings of ministers and members. Perhaps the lack of any official definition of "office" and "order"

helped to create confusion. It must be conceded that it will greatly help the bishop in the exercise of his great authority if we really believe that he is above people and pastors, a *tertium quid* to whom attaches an odor of sanctity, and from whose hands, in conferring orders, there flows some kind of spiritual power. The trouble with this belief is that it is out of harmony with the facts and with the American conception of equality. But, whatever the strength or weakness of the view, it has been among us, influencing our legislation and our administration. So the two antagonistic views have continued side by side. When the tremendous conflict came in 1844, while its actual basis was slavery, the debate dealt largely with these opposing views of the episcopacy.

Leonidas L. Hamline made a strong argument for the authority of a General Conference to depose a bishop for improper conduct when it deems it necessary, or without improper conduct on his part, so far as the constitutional restrictions are concerned. A few days later he was elected to the episcopacy. In 1852 he resigned his office as bishop. He doubtless meant that his resignation should confirm his contention that the episcopacy is not for life or necessity; and the debate preceding the acceptance of the resignation brought out strong expressions in favor of his contention. Many seemed to think that Bishop Hamline's entire course, together with the actions of the General Conference, settled the question of the power of a General Conference to depose a bishop for other than immoral conduct. But no action was taken by the General Conference on that point. In 1844 it simply stated that "It is the sense of the Conference that Bishop Andrew desist from exercising this office while this impediment exists." Practically he was asked to take a retired relation. He was not deposed, nor asked to resign. In 1852 the Conference recognized a bishop's right to resign but did not assert any power to depose him.

The conflicting views continued. In 1900 Dr. T. B. Neely, in a General Conference debate, spoke as follows:

"There is no life tenure of the episcopacy. No one was ever definitely elected for a life term. Asbury himself admitted from time to time that he was at the mercy of the Conference; practically that the Conference could take him out of his position. The General Conference did practically depose Bishop Coke from the episcopacy in this country. The great

Bishop Harris said, in my presence, that the General Conference could remove a bishop from office for malfeasance, unfeasance, or no feasance at all, without formal charges or formal trial or formal conviction and simply upon a resolution of the General Conference. The time may come when some man may be elected to this honorable position who shall prove himself unworthy of the position, and we can avoid a trial, and the scandal of a trial, simply by the passage of the resolution which shall take him out of his position and send him back to his Annual Conference. . . . It is not an order. You cannot take a man out of an order without formal trial and formal conviction, but you can take a man out of an office without formal trial. He ought to be removable if he does wrong in administration; he ought to be removed if he cannot treat his brother pastors in a brotherly way; he ought to be removed if he ever becomes an autocrat. The power should be in this Conference by a secret ballot to lift that man out of the position which he holds."

In 1912 important actions were taken tending to adapt our episcopacy to modern conditions and American ideals. The plan of episcopal areas was adopted and in 1920 those areas were defined by law. This action came none too soon. The old form of general superintendency was adapted to the conditions under which it originated. When we had a few churches in a narrow strip along the Atlantic Coast, Bishop Asbury, by almost superhuman effort, could "travel at large throughout the connection" and know personally every pastor and every church, and could make appointments intelligently.

Now with more than a score of thousands of churches belting the globe, that sort of superintendency is simply impossible. If every one of our thirty-eight effective bishops had temporary supervision everywhere and permanent supervision nowhere, our superintendency would be little better than a farce. In 1912, for the first time, the General Conference negatived the contention that a bishop can be retired only when health fails, by enacting that "a general superintendent at any age, and for any reason deemed sufficient by the General Conference," may be retired. At that same General Conference which took this practical form of asserting its control of the superintendency, important legal questions about the episcopacy were answered for the first time.

When Missionary Bishop Oldham of Southern Asia was elected as a secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, the General Conference was brought face to face with conditions never

confronted before. Could a missionary bishop in good health, chosen for an important secretaryship, accept such a position? Could he hold both positions at once? If not, could he vacate his episcopacy? If so, how could it be done? What about his Conference membership?

These questions were viewed by the Committee on Judiciary on the basis that the episcopacy is strictly an office and in no sense an order with anything of the sacerdotalism, which so often attaches to that term. Here are the questions and answers found in report No. 33, page 589, Journal of 1912:

"If he elects to fill the office of Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, can he vacate the office of missionary bishop? We answer that an acceptance of the office of secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions would operate to vacate the office of missionary bishop.

"If he declines to vacate the office of missionary bishop, and elects to fill the office of secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, what action, if any, should be taken by the General Conference to vacate either office? We answer that no action is necessary, as the acceptance of the one office at once vacates the other.

"The principle of the Common Law is that the same person cannot, at the same time, hold two offices which are incompatible. The office of secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions is incompatible with that of a missionary bishop."

The incompatibility here mentioned is evident, among other reasons, from the fact that the office of a missionary bishop can be exercised only on his missionary field, which, in this case, was Southern Asia, and the secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions must exercise his functions chiefly at the headquarters of the Board, which, by charter, must be in New York. By this finding of the General Conference, a bishop may vacate his office by simply accepting a new office incompatible with the episcopacy; no resignation is necessary, nor is he deposed.

In Report No. 130 two other questions are answered as follows: "Is Missionary Bishop Oldham a member of any Conference? If so, what Conference? We answer that Bishop Oldham never absolutely lost his Annual Conference relationship and is now a member of the Annual Conference to which he belonged when he was elected to the office of missionary bishop and will continue in such membership unless he selects, with the approbation of the bishops, membership in some other Annual Conference.

"Our reasons are the following:

"1. Membership in an Annual Conference can be terminated only in four ways: (1) By location; (2) by surrender of ministerial office; (3) by withdrawal, and (4) by refusal to do the work assigned (Dis., ¶¶ 160-164). As an election to the office of bishop does not come within the provision of any of these four ways, an election to such office does not terminate membership in an Annual Conference.

"2. Having accepted an office incompatible with the office of bishop, which acceptance *ipso facto* was a relinquishment of the office of bishop, Bishop Oldham came under the purview of ¶ 159, which gives him the privilege of selecting membership in any Annual Conference, such selection to be approved by the bishops.

"3. While election to the office of bishop does not terminate membership in an Annual Conference, a bishop, so long as he continues in office, is amenable to the General Conference, which amenability supersedes, for the time being, that of his amenability to the Annual Conference in which his membership resides.

"During his incumbency of his office of bishop, he can exercise only such rights as are compatible with such office and may not engage the rights of a member of an Annual Conference which are incompatible therewith. As to such matters his connection with the Annual Conference is in suspension while occupying the episcopal office.

"If Bishop Oldham ceased to be a member of an Annual Conference when he was elected to the episcopacy, then he ceased also to be a traveling preacher; for under the rule of the General Conference made in 1872 (Journal, page 442) all members of the church who are not members of the Annual Conference are laymen."

To this finding of the Judiciary Committee and the General Conference, Bishop R. J. Cooke takes vigorous exceptions in the September-October number of the METHODIST REVIEW. It ought to be said that in the Committee on Judiciary, as in the Supreme Court, one man writes the opinion and frequently other men who agree with the conclusions join in the decision even though they would give, and sometimes do give, different reasons for the decision. That was true in this case.

In making a decision on a question which is entirely new in our history, it is not to be expected that any precedents can be found in our history. Reliance must be placed upon the laws of the church, written and unwritten. The real reasons for the conclusion reached, as far as they are stated in this report, are found in the paragraph numbered (1) and in the last, but unnumbered, paragraph.

It would seem clear that when the Discipline, under the head-

ing "Termination of Conference Membership," specifies four ways, and only four, in which that membership can be terminated the conclusion is valid that there is no other method. Of course, if the Discipline should provide elsewhere for some other method of terminating the membership, that fact would have to be recognized, but it makes no provision anywhere for terminating Conference membership by election to the episcopacy.

Bishop Cooke, however, attempts to weaken the force of this contention by analogy:

"How utterly fallacious it is in the light of the Discipline will be seen at once if it is applied to a perfectly parallel case. For example, according to the Discipline there are only four ways in which membership in a local church can be terminated: (1) by death; (2) expulsion; (3) withdrawal; (4) removal. Now, since neither reception on trial nor election to full membership in an Annual Conference is mentioned among the ways, therefore a minister in an Annual Conference does not lose his membership in the church to which he originally belonged when he joins the Conference. Can anyone pick a flaw in this logic?"

The logic is all right. The trouble is with the statement of facts. The Discipline does not state that membership in a local church can be terminated only by the four ways indicated. After explaining how a person becomes a member of our church, it does state that "Membership in the church can be terminated only by withdrawal, expulsion, or death." When one joins the Masonic Order, he belongs to the order, not simply to a local lodge. When one joins the Methodist Episcopal Church, he belongs to the whole church, not simply to the local society. His membership in the church can be terminated only in the three ways mentioned, not four ways. The passage to which the bishop refers deals with this general membership and not with membership in the local church. Had the good bishop consulted paragraph 59, section 2, instead of trusting to his memory, he would have realized that it has no reference to the methods of terminating membership in a local church, and he would not have been guilty of smuggling the word "removal" into a statement in which it is not found and from which it is excluded by the word "only."

The simple fact that removal of membership to another charge—perhaps the most common method of losing membership

in a local church—is not mentioned in this paragraph is sufficient evidence that the reference cannot be to local church membership. Of course one can have his membership transferred to another charge, or may have it, by proper steps, passed into an Annual Conference, but he can lose his membership only by withdrawal, expulsion, or death. If the Discipline stated that there are only four methods of terminating membership in a local church, and the bishop found a fifth method, his analogy would have some weight. As the Discipline makes no such statement, the analogy is without value.

To the argument that in 1872 the General Conference decided that all members of the church who are not members of the Annual Conference are laymen, therefore a bishop must be either a layman or a member of an Annual Conference, Bishop Cooke very properly replies that the decision simply declares "that in *all matters connected with the election of lay delegates,* the word 'layman' must be understood to include all members of the church who are not members of Annual Conferences." This does not help his case, however, for no one believes that the bishops are included as laymen *in all matters connected with the election of lay delegates.* Therefore, under the action of 1872, they must be members of Annual Conferences.

While this attempt to refute the reasoning of the report of 1912 concerning a bishop's continuous membership in an Annual Conference is not successful, we may as well concede that the case is not clear on that account. If it can be shown that there is an unwritten law by which acceptance of the episcopacy vacates a man's membership in an Annual Conference, then the first reason given in the report of 1912 is not conclusive. If it can be shown, as it probably can be, that the bishops were not in the thought of the committee or the General Conference of 1872, then that action should not be considered conclusive concerning a bishop's membership in an Annual Conference, even though the language seems very positive.

It probably could have been decided that Bishop Oldham's membership was in the Conference from which he was elected to the episcopacy without raising the question of continuous Confer-

ence membership. If we grant that acceptance of the episcopacy lifts a man out of his Annual Conference, it would naturally follow that termination of the episcopacy would restore him to the position in the church from which the acceptance of the episcopacy had taken him. However, the General Conference having decided in favor of his continuous Conference membership and having made important deductions from that decision, the entire action is now seriously attacked; and the finding should be defended if it is defensible.

Is there an unwritten law that election to the episcopacy vacates a man's Annual Conference membership? That a bishop is not, *because of his presidency,* a member of the Conference over which he presides, with voice or vote in its deliberations, seems to be an unwritten law of the church, well established. A General Conference decision of 1904, declaring invalid an action in which a tie vote was broken by the vote of the bishop, was based on that unwritten law. In this case the report declares not only that the bishop is without vote in the Annual Conference, which was the point at issue, but also that bishops are not members of the Annual Conference.

If the committee and the Conference had in mind the possible continuance of a man's membership in his own Conference, then this decision and that of 1912 are in direct conflict. If that was not in the thought of the persons who made the decision, it would be manifestly unfair to interpret their action as a decision on a question which was not entertained. As a matter of fact, the bishop whose action was under review had never been a member of the Conference involved, and the question of his continuous membership could not be considered.

The language of a decision of 1872 compels the conclusion that bishops are members of Annual Conferences, but probably the bishops were not under consideration, therefore the decision is not conclusive on that point. The decision of 1904 declares that bishops are not members of Annual Conferences; but probably continuous membership in a bishop's own Conference was not under consideration, therefore the decision is not conclusive on that point.

The historic instance most frequently cited to prove that a man loses his Annual Conference membership when he becomes a bishop is the declaration of Bishop Hamline soon after his resignation, "I am now a local preacher." It would be interesting to know just why he thought he was a local preacher, but, as far as I know, he never published his reasons. James M. Buckley says, "His resignation divested Leonidas Lent Hamline of the title and authority of general superintendent, and as he had lost his membership in the Ohio Conference, when he was ordained Bishop, he now became simply a local preacher." This gives Dr. Buckley's opinion that Bishop Hamline had lost his Annual Conference standing. But when he joined the Conference he lost his standing as a local preacher; of this there can be no doubt. If he had also lost his Annual Conference membership, it is not at all clear why Dr. Buckley thought he could take two steps backward but could not take one.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Bishop Morris on July 27, 1852, wrote to Bishop Hamline: "I never doubted the doctrine that a Methodist bishop, in good standing, might resign his office, that the General Conference might accept it, and allow him to return to the ranks of the eldership for an appointment, or for such relation as his health required."

Evidently Bishop Morris thought that after resignation a bishop would be a Conference member to take regular work, or a supernumerary or superannuate relation as his health might require. His opinion, therefore, stands against Bishop Hamline's and tends to show that there was no accepted unwritten law on the subject. There seems to be no unwritten law covering the relation of a bishop to his own Conference, and the first reason in the report of 1912 is valid.

In addition to the reasons cited in the report, there are two others favoring its conclusion. First: The episcopacy is an office. Election to office by the General Conference, whether the office of an editor, secretary, or other office, does not vacate a man's Conference membership. Election to the office of a bishop is no exception unless made so by specific law, and there is no such law.

Second: Every member of our church must hold his member-

ship somewhere. A bishop is not a member of any local church or of the General Conference. He must be a member of the Annual Conference, if anywhere. If it be said that his membership is in the Board of Bishops, the reply is that such a board has no legal existence, has never been created by any statutory or constitutional law. Membership in such a body would give a bishop no legal membership in our church.

These decisions of 1912, together with the deductions drawn from them in response to questions referred to the Committee on Judiciary in 1920, go far toward making our episcopacy an office in fact as well as in name.

I quote from the report of 1920, page 533, Daily Advocate:

"We reach the following conclusions, the nature of the questions being indicated in the answers:

"It would be allowable to carry the name of a bishop on the roll of the Conference where he held his membership when elected, but not compulsory.

"2. It would not be required that the Annual Conference membership of each bishop be stated in the general minutes in connection with his name.

"3. Paragraph 268 would permit a bishop, if he desired, to have his name enrolled in some other Conference than the one of which he was a member when elected.

"4. The name of a bishop, if carried on his Annual Conference roll, may be counted in calculating the basis of General Conference representation.

"5. It would not be compatible with his office for a bishop, when presiding in the Conference where his membership resides, to vote in a tie, or upon constitutional questions, or for General Conference delegates. In these matters, his rights in the Annual Conference are suspended by the requirements of his episcopal office.

"6. It would not be compatible with his office for a bishop to be elected a delegate to the General Conference because his duties are entirely administrative and not legislative. He cannot fill legislative and executive offices at the same time.

"7. It is not compatible with the provisions of our church law for a retired bishop to be classed with the retired ministers of his Annual Conference. He is still a bishop after retirement, with claim on the whole church. He ceases to be a bishop only by resigning his office, or by the result of a trial for misconduct.

"8. It would not be compatible with his new office for a delegate to the General Conference, who has been elected to the episcopacy, to retain his seat to the close of the session, for the reasons stated above."

Concerning the fifth ruling, it ought to be said that while it rests upon unwritten law, there is some ground for believing, that the unwritten law should be changed by legal enactment so as to allow a bishop to vote, as a member of his Conference, on constitutional changes. It has been argued that our bishops ought to have power to veto a law which they deem unconstitutional, or to suspend it until endorsed by the constitutional process, or at least by a subsequent General Conference. To this, there are serious objections, but it does seem as though a bishop ought to have as much voice in determining a great constitutional question as the weakest member of an Annual or Lay Electoral Conference.

The seventh decision seems to declare that under our unwritten law the General Conference could not depose a man without formal trial for misconduct. That is the one feature of the findings which smacks of an "order" with special privilege. We now have thirty-eight effective bishops and some of them quite young. Some men are elected to the episcopacy who prove to be unfitted mentally or temperamentally for the position. Such a man may now be retired for any reason which the General Conference deems sufficient. He may be a valuable man for other fields of labor; but under our law he must be continued as an effective bishop or a retired bishop. If retired, he will be a heavy expense to the church for years. Why not return him to his Conference where his services can be given to work to which he is adapted and his life made a success instead of a failure? That is the course taken with other officers, and no man should be continued in an office for which he is unfitted, just because he happens to be there.

Dr. Hamline believed that the Conference has power to take that course. Dr. Neely's great speech in 1900, advocating the same position, was greeted with tremendous and long continued applause and was doubtless largely responsible for his election to the episcopacy four years later. The legal mind of Bishop Harris accepted the same position. These facts raise a hope that if there is an unwritten law against such action, it will some time be eliminated by a positive enactment.

Two questions of real interest have not yet been officially answered. First, has the General Conference power to elect

bishops for a limited term? Second, has the General Conference power to pass a law by which a retired bishop shall receive his support, like other retired preachers, from the Conference of which he is a member?

To the first question an affirmative reply must be given unless the Conference is inhibited by the restrictive rule which provides that the General Conference cannot "do away episcopacy, nor destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." A limited term would not eliminate the episcopacy, nor would it destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency. It would modify the personnel of the episcopacy, but would not destroy the plan of work. If it be argued that life tenure is essential to the plan, the reply is that life tenure would affect the period of a bishop's superintendency but not its nature, and that the General Conference had negatived the idea of life tenure, by its action in Bishop Cooke's case, before the restrictive rule was promulgated.

The limited term would not approach as nearly to a change of our plan of superintendency as the present law providing for supervision by areas. That regulation was almost revolutionary and certainly jars the restrictive rule rather rudely. In making this provision, the General Conference asserted an authority over the episcopacy vastly greater than would be involved in electing bishops for a limited term.

Moreover, a bishop is now elected for a limited term of effective service. It cannot extend beyond the close of the General Conference nearest his seventy-third birthday. He may be as sound in body and mind as John Wesley was at the age of seventy-three, but his term of effective service must close. The power to fix that limit at seventy-three involves the power to fix it at sixty-three or any other age. The power to close the effective work at any fixed time certainly involves power to place a definite limit to his entire episcopal career, unless the episcopacy is a separate order.

The support of a retired bishop is not under protection of the restrictive rule. In the absence of any constitutional restriction, it would seem certain that the General Conference has power to enact a law that his support shall come from his Annual Conference.

Whether the General Conference ought to exercise that power is another matter. At least three considerations are favorable to such action: First, it would place the bishop in this respect on a level with other officers of the entire church who are chosen by the General Conference. Second, it would increase his sense of brotherhood with Conference members whose appointments he must fix. Third, it seems difficult to justify the payment to a retired bishop, who received a good salary during his working years, of an amount twice as large as the average effective pastor receives and from four to eight times as large as is received by our splendid retired preachers whose salaries through life have been too small to allow them to make provision for old age.

Against such a proposition, it is argued that the dignity and prestige of our bishops would suffer if adequate support in retirement is not provided. The force of this plea is psychological rather than logical. With certain minds it carries great weight. An argument of greater force is found in the fact that a bishop is an officer of the entire church and his support, while he remains a bishop, should come from the entire church.

What shall be done with a bishop whom the General Conference finds unfitted for the work of the episcopacy, although he has not reached the age limit and is not mentally or physically broken? Unless we have a limited term a law should be passed authorizing the General Conference to depose such a man and let him drop back into his Conference.

Experience seems to indicate, however, that the General Conference would hesitate to take such drastic action. Doubtless our present law, though illogical and expensive, would be followed except in extreme cases. A limited term with the possibility of re-election would probably be a better solution.

The changes already made, as well as the others here suggested, in the practical working of our episcopacy are in keeping with the theory that the general superintendency is an office simply, and are calculated to bring our church into more complete harmony with the views of equality which permeate American political life. Such harmony is increasingly necessary as the ideals of democracy receive wider acceptance throughout the world.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE NAZARENE CARPENTER

A Lesson for Labor Day

In a single word, "Carpenter," the Gospels condense eighteen years of the life of our Lord, more than half of his earthly life and nearly six times the length of his public ministry. The holy hands, that now sway the scepter of universal sovereignty, once handled the saw, swung the hammer, and pushed the plane. The brow that now bears the diadem of glory was once bathed with the sweat of honest toil.

Justin Martyr, who wrote a century later, tells us that he made yokes, rakes, and wooden plows. He was a village carpenter in an agricultural community. Probably he was also a builder. Perhaps some of the little huts in Nazareth to-day contain his handiwork.

It was a pious Jewish theory that every man should learn a trade. An old Talmud proverb says: "He who has no trade is brother to the thief." So Paul, the proud Pharisee, was also a tentmaker. History has some fine parallels, such as Peter the Great, of Russia, who wrought in the shipyards of Amsterdam. Every child of Charlemagne was taught some handicraft. America honors Franklin, the printer, Roger Sherman, the shoemaker, and Abraham Lincoln, the rail-splitter.

The Carpenter Christ came to abolish caste. He was the partner of poverty and the lifter of the lowly. Born in a stable, reared in a workshop, nailed to a cross—this Rose of Sharon was no hothouse plant but a familiar flower sown in the soil of our common life. This brings him near to every man; he has bridged all the chasms of artificial social distinction and created universal brotherhood.

His lowliness became a stumbling-block. The snobs of earth cannot see the king in the carpenter, the God in the workman. Skeptics, like Celsius, sneered at him. Julian, the apostate emperor of Rome, said to a Christian bishop, "What is your Galilean Carpenter doing now?" The answer came quickly, "Making a coffin for the emperor." But this made him at home everywhere. "The common people heard him gladly." He belonged, not to the "classes," but to the "masses."

He raised the laborer to be the true aristocrat. By the leverage of love he has lifted the lowly.

The kingdom of heaven is a true democracy. God has got tired of kings and placed the crown of his good pleasure on the head of the common man, or, as Lincoln called them, the "plain people." This is the inmost meaning of the incarnation and the atonement. The ancient democracies of Greece and Rome were built on slavery and caste. Jesus is the great Emancipator. He is everywhere the man of the people, voicing their needs and aspirations.

The Nazarene Carpenter has dignified labor. Work is the law of life, the salt of character, the girdle of manhood. God is the Divine Artisan: as Jesus says, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." Labor was an ordinance of Paradise and did not become a curse by the Fall, except as sin soils all it touches. Even the curse of thorns and thistles was glorified when they formed the crown that pierced the brow of the Man of Sorrows.

The Carpenter of Nazareth teaches the sovereignty of service. Working, and not fighting, is the true path to world mastery. The task set for man at the beginning is to conquer the earth and subdue it. It is Christ who is transforming a militant into an industrial society. The man behind the gun must give way to the man behind the hoe and the machine. It is doubly significant that the industrial classes in all nations are largely opposed to war. Labor is the real road to lordship in life.

Usefulness is the true badge of kingship. "He that will be greatest of all, let him be servant of all." "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister." "He took upon him the form of a servant." Idleness is dishonesty. "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat." He who does not help is hateful. The Christ challenge to every man is to ask himself, "Am I a producer or a parasite?" Are the garments we wear washed with the tears of half-paid toilers? Do they smell of the blood of others' sacrifice and reek with the deathdew of the sweatshop? Jesus has sanctified all toil and made it a holy priesthood; but he has also placed the stigma of shame on idleness.

The Galilean Carpenter calls for apprentices. He says, "Learn of me." All labor has an educational value. The workshop is a true university. Man makes himself in making the world. Two houses every carpenter builds: the outward residence for human occupancy and the inner sanctuary for the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit.

The fact that the present factory system is less educational than

primitive handwork is full justification for the agitation for higher pay and shorter hours. A system that has made of four million women and half a million children industrial slaves has forgotten the Master Workman, whose craftsmanship is for the building of character as well as of the creation of goods.

They who invest their money in production must also invest their lives by labor or they are mere profiteers and social parasites; they who invest their lives in productive labor must be recognized as having a legitimate claim to some share in ownership, or the wage system will become a mere survival of chattel slavery. Industrial democracy is sure to come not by any violent revolution but by inevitable social evolution.

There is a still deeper symbolism in the fact that Jesus was a carpenter. It illustrates his teaching, which is full of figures drawn from the building trade. The Church of Christ is the church of the Carpenter, built on the confession of the fisherman. He is the architect of a community—"I will build my church." The three years of his public ministry were as truly building years as the eighteen spent in Nazareth; he was founding a spiritual society.

He is the Architect of Eternity. When he said, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will build it up," he proclaimed himself the builder of the resurrection. In the many mansions of the Father's House, he is still at work preparing a place for his own.

Christ stands to-day in shop, factory, by rattling loom and smoking forge, and cries, "Come unto me, all ye that labor." He who in his shop at Nazareth knew how to make a yoke that would not chafe, says to all the weary workers of earth, "Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

When capital cares more for service than for profits, when workmen care more for the work than for the wages, then the Nazarene Carpenter will become Lord of life and labor, and his unseen hands shall finish the invisible house in which shall dwell the coming Brotherhood of Man beneath the universal Fatherhood of God.

This lesson of spiritual democracy is given lovely lyrical expression in Dr. Charles M. Sheldon's song for workingmen:

> If I could hold within my hand
> The hammer Jesus swung,
> Not all the gold in all the land,
> Nor jewels countless as the sand,
> All in the balance flung,

Could weigh against that precious thing,
Round which his fingers once did cling.

If I could own the table he
  Made there at Nazareth,
Not all the pearls in all the sea,
Nor crowns of kings, or kings to be
  As long as men have breath,
Could buy that thing of wood he made—
The Lord of lords who learned a trade.

But now that hammer still is shown
  By honest hands that toil,
And at that table men sit down
And all made equal by the crown
  Not time nor change can soil;
The shop at Nazareth was bare,
But Brotherhood was builded there.

THE HIGHEST CRITICISM[1]

BEYOND the higher criticism there is a highest criticism, based not on the canons of evidence, but on spiritual insight. The supreme agent in the interpretation of Scripture is the Holy Spirit. Inspiration has to do, not with information, but with insight, not with historicity or science, but with those spiritual things which are spiritually criticized or discerned. The preacher must rise from the professionalism of the priest to the power of the prophet, by this discrimination of spiritual values. It is noteworthy that in the great Protestant confessions this witness of the Spirit has always been made an essential part of the doctrine of Sacred Scripture. Thus the noble symbol of Westminster testifies: "Our full persuasion of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our heart." Elsewhere this great Confession sets forth as a supreme proof of inspiration, "the heavenliness of the matter." So the older Scotch confession quaintly says that, in Scripture, the "true Kirk alwaies heares and obeys the voice of her awin spouse and pastor." This is the doctrine of Calvin, who affirms of Scripture that "it is self-authenticated, carrying with it its own evidence, and ought not to be made the subject of

[1] These discussions of the general theme of the relation of Biblical Criticism to Preaching, begun in the January, 1921, issue of the REVIEW, will be concluded in the November number with an editorial on "The Preacher, the People, and the Bible."

demonstration and arguments from reason, but *it obtains the credit that it deserves with us by the testimony of the Spirit.*"[2] One of the greatest and sanest of modern evangelists, Dwight L. Moody, was accustomed to say, "I know the Bible is inspired, because it inspires me."

The church has always placed experience first and scientific knowledge afterward. Its maxim has ever been *Credo ut intelligam.* And contrariwise, all formulas that cannot be translated into terms of experience are to the religious sense negligible. There is a preparation for preaching more fundamental than the preparation of the sermon—it is the preparation of the preacher. No man can really preach that as the Word of God which has not been such to himself. He cannot interpret Moses until for him earth's trees have been aflame with the divine presence; he cannot explain Isaiah until his own lips have felt the cleansing touch of the live coal from the upper sanctuary; he cannot preach Paul's gospel until God has revealed his Son in him as in the great apostle to the Gentiles.

O could I tell, you surely would believe it!
O could I only say what I have seen!
How could I tell, or how can you receive it,
How, till He bringeth you where I have been?

Therefore, O Lord, I will not fail nor falter;
Nay, but I ask it, nay, but I desire;
Lay on my lips the embers of the altar,
Seal with the sting and furnish with the fire.

Quick, in a moment, infinite forever,
Send an arousal better than I pray;
Give me a grace upon the faint endeavor,
Souls for my hire and Pentecost to-day![3]

It was this highest criticism that our Lord and his servant Paul brought to the teaching of the Old Testament. It is the hallowing of criticism which alone can make the new learning, or any learning, safe to the preacher. It would be but empty erudition to discover the exilic date of the latter chapters of Isaiah and then to miss the deeper meaning given by this new historic setting of these words of consolation, the very loftiest mountain-peak of prophecy. To find that Babylonian cosmogonic myths have furnished the symbolic language for apocalyptic literature, or that Persian dreams of angelic hierar-

[2] Institutes, I, Chap. VII, 5.
[3] F. W. H. Meyers, Saint Paul.

chies, judgment, world restoration, and resurrection have shaped the later beliefs of Israel, would be but idle pedantry to any preacher who had not also the insight to see that it is the spiritual genius of the chosen people and their experience of God which has shaped from all these fragments of alien culture something which Babylon never built and Persia never could have produced. It is by this highest criticism that the church has determined the canon of Scripture. It has not been wholly, or even chiefly, by the will of man acting on traditional evidence, but by a divine discernment, born of spiritual sympathy, that these books have survived; it has been a conservation of supreme values. The Bible lives by being lived.

"The sword of the Spirit is the word of God." It is spiritual truth alone that can slay sin and save souls. To the spiritually sensitive soul the Bible is a perpetual Pentecost, translating the life of God into human speech, so that "each in his own tongue" can hear and witness the divine reality in its downpouring upon human hearts. It is not by syllogisms or argument that man can be won to Christianity. When the promised Paraclete cometh "he shall convince the world." The preacher might well despair if he were sent to work without this weapon, if he were expected to conquer by logical proofs. It is by the "unction of the Holy One" that the divine knowledge comes (1 John 2. 20). The church lives in a present world of religious reality, a kingdom in which the risen Lord reigns and the Spirit administers. God is his own interpreter. Inspiration is no outworn and isolated fact; the divine message in the book is attested by the indwelling Spirit in the life of the believer. We can believe in a Bible that leads us to God; we could not vitally believe in a God who referred us to a book. "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power."

The purpose of preaching is to secure that response to the gospel which we call saving faith. Now, this faith is not the acceptance of laboriously certified credentials or acquiescence in any form of words, but an act of trust in a living Person. Biblical faith is something more than faith in the Bible.[4] Belief in the Bible is one thing, and may lead to all sorts of opinions, sensible and absurd; the living faith inspired by the Bible is quite another thing, for it is a present experience of saving grace and power. As Principal Forsyth has well said: "We shall not be judged by what we thought of the Bible, but by what we did with its gospel; not by what we know of the Bible, but by

[4] See the interesting discussions in Menegoz's Le Fideisme, Nos. 11 and 37.

the way it made us realize we were known of God. We shall be rich, not by the ore, but by the gold."[5] That pulpit which the cleansing fire of criticism has driven from the outworks of the letter to the stronghold of the spirit, and which has won the glad, confident note of a personal experience of eternal reality born of the self-evidencing power of the truth of God, will speak with fresh energy, for its message will be "words which the Holy Spirit teaches," and will be accompanied with an abiding demonstration and power, ministered by the Spirit of God.

It is not in a Book, but in a living Being, that God is supremely revealed. The only possible disclosure of a personal God is in a divine Person. To preach the Word is to preach Christ. Jesus reproaches the Jews with their mistaken reverence for and study of the Scriptures, and their unfounded belief that they could find eternal life in written documents, and condemns them for refusing to come to him for life. "These are they which testify of me" (John 5. 38, R. V.). He declines the faith that is built on externals, that demands miracles, for his appeal is not to the logical faculty, primarily, but to spiritual insight; it is personal trust, and not mental credence, that he seeks, and he will not allow even the Scriptures to be his rival. That preaching is best which brings the soul face to face with a living and present Lord; the men of to-day must receive the grace of God as the apostles did—directly from him. There is but one final authority for the Christian faith: it is the historic Jesus who is the present Christ. The one point at which the spiritual and historical coincide is "Christ in us the hope of glory." No higher service can be rendered by a ministry which has been instructed by the critical method, than to bring back the faith of the church to its one unshaken ground of certainty. Faith has its citadel, which is Jesus Christ, and they who construct other frail fortresses of human theory and opinion, and insist that the perpetuity of the Christian system is involved in the defense of these crazy structures of human tradition, ignore what is the true defense and glory of our Christianity. The preaching of the cross is still the power of God to us which are saved. The modern preacher, like Paul, finds himself confronted by the Jews who require a sign and the Greeks who seek wisdom (1 Cor. 1. 22, 24), represented to-day in the traditionalists who demand the unnatural and abnormal, and the rationalists who would substitute criticism for faith. But to them that are called, Christ is still both the miracle and the

[5] Hibbert Journal, Oct., 1911, p. 250.

method of God. "God has spoken!" So writes the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. He spoke in times past in fragmentary and varied ways by the prophets, but in these last days by a Son (Heb. 1. 1, 2). This is the word of faith which we preach.

> I have a life in Christ to live;
> But ere I live it must I wait
> Till learning can clear answer give
> Of this or that book's date?
>
> I have a life in Christ to live,
> I have a death in Christ to die;
> And must I wait till science give
> All doubts a full reply?[6]

Surely not, for he is his own answer to all questions about him. Truth, dead in the tomb of dogma, has sprung into life at the question of criticism. Through all the clouds of controversy there shines the face of the living Lord.

It does not follow that this mystical sense which is the instrument of the highest criticism can fully function without an adequate intellectual framework. Doubtless many unlearned men have possessed the true prophetic gift, which has placed them closer to the heart of Holy Scripture than any rationalistic scholar. This holy discernment, however, at its best, discovers difficulties in the Book far more confusing than any raised by purely external methods. The mind of Christ in the sanctified soul must constantly condemn the crude moral standards of primitive religion as disclosed in the Bible. The highest criticism, therefore, needs both the lower and the higher criticism to justify its loftier vision of religious reality.

The situation suggests the need of a more strenuous scholarship on the part of the ministry. The preacher will not be a worse Christian nor a poorer preacher for knowing something about the Bible. Criticism has placed the emphasis on biblical rather than systematic theology, and the hunger for the Word of God can be satisfied only by a pulpit which is "mighty in the Scriptures." Biblical exposition must largely take the place of those academic essays in homiletics which are called topical sermons. The health of the church calls for fruit freshly gathered in the garden of God rather than for canned goods from the theological pantry shelf. Such preaching will be based in a sound exegesis, and true exegesis is critical; that is, it applies

[6] John Campbell Shairp.

the canons of literary and historical judgment to the interpretation of the text. Spiritual insight is more than grammatical knowledge, but it cannot dispense with grammar; mere piety may miss many a precious lesson through ignorance. Scamped work is disgraceful anywhere; it is most shameful in the preacher. The Puritan pulpit, often considered the most narrowly dogmatic, furnishes one great name which is both inspiration and example. Our time needs a Baxter, who to profound learning and deep experimental piety joined unflinching courage, uncompromising veracity, and transparent sincerity. The prophet and the scribe, the schoolman and the saint, the preacher and the teacher will meet in this mighty ministry.

All preachers cannot be technical critics, but they all can and should win the temper of mind which reveres knowledge and appropriates its wealth. We can cease basing our faith on untenable grounds and defending it with perilous weapons. We can guard against the seductions of silence that dodges the difficulties besetting souls and hides in a coward's castle of safety, rather than dares to conserve the truth by its courageous use; we must not with impudent hypocrisy dare to "offer to the God of truth the unclean sacrifice of a lie"; we will not exalt fidelity to form and confessional conformity above inward spirituality and outward holiness. It is possible to be as doctrinally orthodox as the Pharisees and ecclesiastically correct as the Sadducees, and still send Christ to the cross. We must not eternally raise the cry of "Wolf!" to whistle the dogs and stampede the sheep at the approach of mental difficulties to faith, and raise no cry of alarm at the darker dangers of wickedness and worldliness. We may learn to recognize in the living question of an active mind something more akin to a saving faith than can be found in the dead answers of a sluggish spirit. Above all, the preacher of to-day, as of every age, must learn to live first-hand from God; and only as that special experience of divine love and power we call salvation arises and is reproduced in his own heart, can he either receive the revelation from the holy Book or preach it to sinful souls.

This union by faith with the living and present Christ, bringing the Living Word to the interpretation of the written word—this is the secret of that highest criticism, in which literary and historic values, substantial as they are, give place to the spiritual and moral values which are the supreme message of the Scriptures.

A SPIRITUAL SIGNAL SERVICE

THE weather is the one theme which has perennial and universal interest. It not only furnishes the small change of conversation, but in its study all primitive science had its birth. The sky is the womb in which the weather is born and it is also the home of mythology and the land of dreams. We are all skygazers, not, like the untutored savage, simply to see the face of God, but to prognosticate the state of to-morrow's atmosphere. Meteorology is slowly becoming a science, as the crude conjectures of the sailor and the farmer are being distilled into physical law. Some day, perhaps, "Old Probabilities" shall become weather-wise enough, not only to prophesy the coming sunshine and the storm, but also in some measure to control the coming of both. Then we shall be able not only to forecast but to make weather.

But there are other skies than those that hold the sun and stars, other clouds than those born of the sea which wander like "floating cisterns" through the air. Human spirits live in another atmosphere than that which swathes the earth, an atmosphere which extends to the farthest bounds of being. Shall we be shrewd enough to guess the climate of to-morrow, and yet too stupid to know which way the winds of God are blowing, too blind to behold the divine phenomena being daily born in the womb of time? How Jesus rebuked the worldly wisdom and spiritual insensibility of his time in the words: "Ye can discern the face of the sky, but can ye not discern the signs of the times?"

"The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Kingdom of God"; such is the eternally true indictment of all earthly science. What Jesus said of the wind he also declared to be true of the breath of God, "Thou canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth." There are holy temperatures that no thermometer can measure, and pressures of divine atmosphere that no barometer can weigh.

Your life can never fathom the depths of life's great sea,
  There is that in the lowest flower your meaning cannot make clear;
The spirit of God's intention that fills all things we see,
  And the breath of his love that floodeth the earth like an atmosphere.

Even in nature there are mysteries that the unspiritual mind cannot guess; there is a rhythm in nature's poem and a splendor in her unrhymed song that no soul can sing until born from above.

And so we need a spiritual signal service to interpret for us the ways of God in nature, history, and life. We need spiritual experts who see behind the shows of time the eternal auguries. Sagacity in earthly matters gives no authority here. Good guessing of the worldly weather is no guarantee of competency to judge in moral and religious matters. The newspapers, which mirror so well the secular life of the age, give no chronicle of the Kingdom of God; they deal with the times rather than with the eternities. Every age needs its own prophets, God's signal men, who can see in passing events the sky signs of the Kingdom. Issachar sent by far the fewest of any tribe to support the claims of God's anointed to the throne, but her quota was made up of men "who had understanding of the times," and so her meager hundreds counted more than the armed thousands from the other clans. "Where there is no vision the people perish."

How may we become adepts in this divine meteorology and learn to forecast the spiritual weather? Nothing will serve but to become like God in his nature, which is spirituality; and like him in his character, which is holiness. Those born from above behold the Kingdom, the pure in heart see God, and "the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him." Even on the stillest day the quivering aspen will detect some breeze a-blowing, and no period of history can be so spiritually dead that the true seer cannot feel some moving of the breath of God. Sin will impair the sight, and selfishness will dull the sensibility that should feel the fine moving of the heavenly atmosphere.

Two things a prophet needs: a keen interest in living and a certain detachment from life. The child is the best type of God's poet; he lives intensely, but at the same time is not entangled in the snares of life. God has withheld his choicest revelations from the wise and prudent, to reveal them unto babes. We may gain this detachment, if with our Master we often seek the spots that are lofty and lonely. For signal stations are set in high places, on the roofs of tall buildings, and on mountain summits.

> "The highest mounted mind," he said,
> "Still sees the sacred morning spread
> The silent summit overhead."

"WE ALL DO FADE AS A LEAF"

AN AUTUMNAL REVERIE

THE prophet must have been out of doors when he said it (Isa. 64. 6), perhaps in a vineyard where the frost-bitten leaves curled up like a dead baby's hands, or on the edge of the woodland watching the shattered fire of the drifting leaves and listening to their soft rustling like the voice of God in the Garden. "The voice of one saying, Cry. And one said, What shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the flower fadest, because the breath of Jehovah bloweth upon it. Surely the people is grass" (Isa. 40. 67). It is in the pathetic beauty of these melancholy days that nature preaches the solemn sermon of change, proclaimed by all sights and sounds of the dying year.

October is one of the finest rooms in God's picture gallery. All summer he has been preparing the canvas and mixing his colors, and now hangs against earth and sky the gorgeous splendor of the autumn woods. Few pictures are fairer than when he takes the white brush of the frost and with lavish loveliness gives the poorest of us paintings that outrival the glories of the Louvre or the Vatican.

There is as true a glory in death as in life, and the fading leaf is a fine symbol of the sad splendor of the fading life.

1. *We fade slowly and gradually.* The October decadence is no sudden change, it began many weeks ago when the pumps in the pores of the bark stopped working, and the tired trees lost the fine sap-throb of spring. Sharp eyes can see it coming in midsummer, leaves begin to fall early; some are torn away by the tempest and hail, and a few linger until the foliage of a new spring crowds them off. Slowly they loosen their hold, until a touch, a breath, dislodges them.

So do men pass, not all at once, but with slow fading of power, stiffening muscles, darkened eyes, dulled ears, whitening hair, and the network of multiplying wrinkles. When a man dies suddenly, there often has been a slow sapping of vital energy. Thus slowly and silently Death comes, with stealthy, noiseless tread. We "die daily." The handwriting is on the wall in every mark of fading beauty. Not only in the "sere and yellow leaf" but in the fresh springtime they fall.

> Leaves have their time to fall,
> And flowers to wither at the north wind's breath
> And stars to set—but all,
> Thou hast all seasons for thine own, O Death.

2. *We fade differently.* It is this variety that makes the fall of the year like the march of a barbaric army with its mottled splendor of blazing banners. One tree burns, unconsumed, with crimson fire, like the bush that Moses saw; another wastes away repellently, blighted, blotched, dull, and somber.

So it is with old age; it may be beautiful or blasted. Life may shrivel into the bitterness and blackness of crabbed temper, morose and snarling, or shine "brighter and brighter unto the perfect day." There is a loveliness of old October that oftentimes outshines that of young May. Sunsets may be more gorgeous than the dawn. Death is a new birth to the righteous man. "Precious in the sight of God is the death of all his saints." "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his."

3. *We fade when work is done.* What mighty workers are the forest leaves! We thought they were only laughing when the sunshine kissed them and singing, when the fingers of the wind touched them, but without hammer or saw they were building the woodlands. It was they that lifted the pillared columns of the forest and the green domes of the wilderness sanctuaries. The leaf is the supreme crucible in God's laboratory, the workshop of the Almighty. There sap and air and sunlight meet to build the living cell. And, when their task is finished, the fall winds sigh through the thinning treetops, singing their requiem: "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord; even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labors *and their works do follow them.*"

"A man is immortal till his work is done." Thus each generation plays its part and passes, and the old yield place to the young. There is no halt in the great procession. Soldiers do their bit and others fill the broken ranks and "carry on." So may we go singing home, "I have finished the work thou gavest me to do."

4. *We fall to rise again.* Spite of its splendor, there is a sadness of the passing year. At last we gaze on the ruins of the dead summer with its roofless temples, and listen to the dirges of the wintry blasts. October's dying glory burns out, and November comes and seems the end of all growth and life. But it is not so. The west winds of April shall come as an overture of life and love; and October's deathbed brilliancy reaches past the winter's silence to rise again in the promise of the May.

And the leaf makes preparation for it. It gets ready to die by preparing for new life. Another summer is already hidden germinally

on the naked bough. No leaf falls until it has started a new one in the auxiliary buds to take its place; no flower fades until it has filled its treasury with seeds.

How is it with us? Do we too live for the future? Are we nursing within ourselves the germs of eternal life? We may question it when we stand among the tombs; the cemetery is a silent city and the billowing graves tell no story and sing no song of resurrection. But faith can hear it as it feels the winds of heaven, the breath of God that sings out of the open grave in Joseph's garden: "I am the resurrection and the life."

> See truth, love, and mercy in triumph descending,
> And nature, all glowing in Eden's first bloom;
> On the cold cheek of death smiles and roses are blending,
> And beauty immortal awakes from the tomb.

Forth from the throne of God and the Lamb flows the River of the Water of Life. On the banks of that life-giving stream stands the tree whose leaves never fade, and whose fruit fills the year—the Tree of Life.

THE ARENA

CAN A UNIVERSITY BE CHRISTIAN?

"CAN a university be Christian?" asks Dr. Howard Paul Sloan, in the REVIEW for January.

It is a pleasure to read such straightforward English as Dr. Sloan writes. He is clear as crystal whenever he expresses a thought of his own. He is cloudy only when he attempts to justify traditional pronouncement—the slogans of his ecclesiastical company.

One may not always approve, but cannot fail to see just what he is doing. He says "I believe" is the basis of Christianity; and "I investigate" is the central thought of a university. Nevertheless he insists there can be a Christian university, namely, one in which Christianity is accepted as an immutable fact, and the results of all investigation are to be tested upon their clash or concord with systematic Christian doctrines. This Dr. Sloan declares is the only sort of a university that can properly be called Christian. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that such an institution could never fulfill the obligations of a university. He points out that there is in every scientific or philosophic opinion an element of faith. That is true. Every strong thinker knows that he sees through a glass darkly, and save upon those problems that involve solely an apprehension of the laws of thought, he knows that his conclusion is subject to the modification of a more perfect knowledge. Yet

he *believes* the truth to be where he has placed it. That is the sort of faith that moves mountains. But the faith that first postulates a systematic explanation of the origin and destiny of man, and of the physical and moral order of the universe, and thereafter, because it is held to have been divinely revealed, refuses to admit the corrections of reflection and experiment, is something entirely different.

That is not faith. It is dogma. Apologetics may reinforce but can never unchangeably establish dogma. It is not true that faith and reason are inconsistent. Faith is the impulse of reason. There is no such thing as faith in an unreasonable proposition. Such pretended faith is merely a confusion of thought. To talk of faith in what the reason does not grasp is a waste of time. The phrase has no meaning. We cannot sanctify the incomprehensible by calling it a mystery.

Religion is a fact, not a faith. It may be that holiness (like liberty and equality) is an aspiration, not a fact: but there is no doubt about the presence of the aspiration.

The sacerdotal explanation of the phenomena of religious aspiration and experience has no claim to the dignity of fact. It can give no impulse to faith, save upon the dictate of reason.

Apologetics are a feeble substitute for understanding. What is inherently incredible is not to be bolstered up by evidence. Christianity is something more than a faith. So too, a university is not altogether a research institute: it is a training school as well. The classroom is quite as important as the laboratory. In the treasure house of accumulated knowledge we find also the lantern and compass for the quest of new truth. The atmosphere of a university is more strengthening than its curriculum. Right there the spirit of Christianity mellows and exalts academic meditation and instruction. Systematic theology, however cautiously concentrated, when presented as a finality, is another proposition.

It is true, as Dr. Sloan says, that in the formative days of Christendom the priest was then the schoolmaster. But it is also true that the soothsayer was the first physician and the barber the first dentist. We want to preserve the simplicity of the early days, but not the crudity.

There may be a Christian university precisely as there may be a French, English, or American university, and in no other useful sense. That is to say, a university pervaded with Christian thought. But to make contemporary exponents of Christian doctrine censors of thought and judges of accomplishment would defeat the aim of a university. What lofty madness moves Dr. Sloan to make his little coterie of thinkers the touchstone of university life? He is not to be answered by discrediting all narrow sectarian interpretation. That is not what he means. He is thinking of some general fundamental synopsis, on which all Christians are agreed. But there is no body of Christian doctrine on which he can stand with anything like universal assent. This is not surprising.

Jesus was a "light," not a lighting system. He was a "way," not a road map. The various creeds and confessions of Christian faith are not hymns of harmony; they are battle monuments. No one of them truth-

fully reflects primitive Christianity or forecasts exactly the multiform present phase; and all are impotent to circumscribe the expanding force of that slow but resistless movement. There has never been a perfect Christian consensus, since Paul debated with Peter on the fundamentals in the synagogue at Antioch; and afterward declared, "I withstood him to his face; for he was wrong."

Before making a Quarterly Conference the arbiter of university action, Dr. Sloan should first determine how far doctrinal unity has been brought about by force of arms in ages past; and what part politics secular and ecclesiastical has played in the determination of the formularies. What particular "heresy" of dignified support has ever in fact been blotted out?

One reads with profound interest Dr. Sloan's exposition that we cannot ascribe moral attributes to the Deity unless we conceive the Godhead as at once a "person" and a "society." This, by the way, is a proposition which Moses would doubtless have received with considerable astonishment, when he was writing out the first commandment and telling of the jealousy of a unitary God, his vengeance on them that hate him, and his mercy toward them that love him and keep his commandments. That sort of "ethics" rather appeals to me. However, the fact remains that hundreds of millions of Christians are emphatically polytheistic, some with three *numina* and some with four, and temples specially dedicated to one or the other, "as in the days of old." Words may disguise but cannot alter their mental state.

May it not be possible to put into the university teachers of pure and undefiled religion conceived as man's indestructible aspiration to search out and place himself in harmony with that universal moral order so unmistakably potent, but so difficult to apprehend? Is it impossible to have teachers of righteousness and holiness who will feed men's souls, but will not arrogate to themselves miraculous authority in matters of speculation which will probably divide men in opinion while the universe shall endure?

The editor's illuminating note on this article, in the same number, closes with an inspiring sentence: "The Christian heart and conscience will serve to create the Christian mind." There is, however, a noble passage in that editorial note which I cannot pass over: "We have found the divine values in Jesus of Nazareth, and can find them in their fullness nowhere else—therefore we worship him as the only God of our salvation. We will state the doctrine of his Deity for ourselves in the terms of every new philosophy that men set forth, but we will believe it savingly, not in terms of intellect, but of life." I doubt if any man has ever better distinguished between the chrysalis and the bee than Dr. Elliott has done in that eloquent and incisive statement.

That is precisely the faith that Newton had in his law of gravitation. Some Einstein may possibly change the formula about the pull of the mass and the square of the distance, but the attraction remains. That is the university tone.

DWIGHT M. LOWREY.

Philadelphia, Pa.

THE BIBLE AT THE FRONT

Not one American soldier who saw active service at the front in France was without a Bible—the only true means of comforting the soul when in danger or when the din of war palled on the broad-thinking American and he longed for the sight of his loved ones at home. Or when the treasured mail was in some manner delayed, it was soothing to resort to the good pages of the Bible and, for the moment, take our minds off the horrors of war.

Not one member of the A. E. F. will deny the remarkable role the Bible played in preserving the morale in the American Army while in France.

The few opportunities to read our Bibles, which were seldom available while on the front, were eagerly grasped by the majority of soldiers who appreciated the value of religious consolation, and many a heart was cheered during a heavy barrage by the wonderful effect of some line or paragraph in the Holy Bible.

The Bible was also responsible for the saving of lives while in line of duty, I know of some instances where the Bible was carried in the upper left pocket of the coat near the heart (where I invariably carried mine), and by deflecting a bullet or fragment of shrapnel has saved the man from a serious wound and, possibly, death.

The handy edition which we carried was very convenient and could readily find a place on our persons, while moving about in France, on account of its size. And we certainly did some moving while the war was raging.

I am glad and proud to say that I still have my little Bible which I carried with me through the whole affair; the little Good Book that made the war seem shorter. Upon cessation of hostilities in November, 1918, we did not forsake our Bibles because the war was over and the danger past. It was just as popular in safety and continued its good work just the same.

Joseph R. Schadel.

Hartford, Conn.

THE LAW OF THE CHURCH NOT FULFILLED BY THE NEW COURSE OF STUDY

One of the admittedly first class questions of last General Conference was that of the Course of Study. The dissatisfaction which had developed during the preceding quadrennium was brought to a climax in a strict order by the General Conference that only such books could be selected for it as were in full and hearty accord with those doctrines and that outline of faith defined in the constitution of the church. (See Discipline, Par. 210, Sec. 2, page 159.)

This action made it absolutely binding both upon the Commission and upon the bishops to provide and approve only such books. In view of this situation the placing of any book upon one of our courses of study that is

either antagonistic to or uncertain in its attitude toward constitutional Methodism is only possible by a violation of positive law.

At this point we pause long enough to discriminate this action of the last General Conference from the Roman "Index." Rome prohibits the reading of certain books by men as private individuals. The General Conference prohibited a commission from compelling men to read certain books as a part of an official and prescribed course. The General Conference says absolutely nothing about what books a man shall not read, it simply says that the officials of the church shall not compel its young ministers to read and study unsound books. In his private reading every man is free, but the prescribed courses of reading are required to be standard. This action of the General Conference has already been compared to the Roman "Index," but it was evidently done carelessly by a writer who had not carefully considered what he was saying, and who was looking for a point of attack.

For months now the church has been waiting for this new course of study. Delay in its appearance was inevitable. The Commission could not report to the bishops earlier than the fall of 1920, and this made it impossible that the bishops could review and approve the course earlier than at their spring meeting in 1921. The Episcopal Board completed its action a month since at Portland, and now the report is before the church.

The bishops made three objections to the course as provided by the Commission. They declined to approve Professor Harry Ward's book, The Gospel for a Working World, Dr. Campbell's book on The Second Coming of Christ, and Professor Peake's one-volume Commentary on the Bible.

In the first and last of these exceptions the bishops did a real service to the church. Dr. Ward's book is written on the basis of pre-war facts, and so is out of date; furthermore it is a book calculated to stir up class consciousness and so is not well adapted to guide the thinking of young Methodist ministers on so important a subject as social leadership.

And Peake's Commentary, especially in its handling of the Gospels, is so dogmatically destructive as to be unthinkable in Methodism. The Gospels are not, to Peake and his colaborers, apostolic accounts of actual events in the life of Jesus, but combinations of tradition and imagination. Several of the miracles are called in question. That of the withering of the fig tree, it is suggested, may have arisen simply as a story that began to be told about one of Jerusalem's dead trees. There is much of this kind of material in the volume. What would have been the effect of such a volume in the hands of the young preachers of Methodism is painful to imagine. The bishops did the church a great service in removing this book. What explanation the Commission can offer the church for having suggested it remains to be seen.

But the course, even after the bishops finished their criticism of it, still contains a number of very destructive books. A list of those which in some measure antagonize or else inadequately set forth the doctrines of Methodism as defined in the Constitution of the church includes thirteen, and is as follows:

1. New Testament History—by Dr. Rall, of Garrett. 2. The Main Points—by Dr. Brown, of Yale. 3. Church History—by Dr. Walker, of Yale. 4. Studies in Christianity—by Dr. Browne, late of Boston. 5. Introduction to Sociology—by Dr. Hayes, of Illinois State. 6. Outlines of Christian Theology—by Dr. Clarke, late of Colgate. 7. Modern Pre-Millennialism and the Christian Hope—by Dr. Rall, of Garrett. 8. The Five Great Philosophies of Life—by Dr. Hyde, of Bowdoin. 9. The Christian Pastor—by Dr. Gladden, a pastor for many years in Columbus, Ohio. 10. Dr. McGiffert's book on Luther. 11-13. And the three books on Christian nurture, each of which comes short of a fully Christian position.

A word or two about each of these books follows.

The volume on Church History by Dr. Walker, of Yale, makes Christian doctrine an evolution through the centuries, and in this evolution is included so fundamental a doctrine as that of the pre-existence of Christ. Paul was the first to teach this. The author of the fourth Gospel, who was not John, was the first to write a Gospel from this point of view. Pagan philosophies and imperial politics were important factors in producing the Christianity of our creeds. Justification by faith alone is treated as a wonderful idea, but as not acceptable as the one condition of salvation. Providence and the supernatural are dealt with unsympathetically. Professor Walker's whole position is sympathetic with modern liberalism rather than with Historic Christianity.

Professor Rall's two volumes are also both of them expressions of this modern naturalistic point of view. His Bible is not an authoritative revelation, but instead a very fallible book. Even the Saviour is charged with error, and that, too, in a matter of central importance in his Gospel. Professor Rall has a halting attitude toward the virgin birth, he excludes from the New Testament Jesus's purpose to go to Jerusalem to die. He never treats the cross as a propitiatory sacrifice. He rejects the objective second coming of Jesus, though he admits the expectation of this event fills the New Testament.

Professor Rall's position reduces Christianity to a mere system of Theistic ethics, in which Christ stands simply as the great teacher and exemplar. At the present time this position among a number of writers fully recognizes the essential deity of Christ. But so stupendous an event as the Incarnation has no appropriate relation to such a little system of naturalism. This whole school of thought will be driven to turn back toward the Propitiation, the Bible, and the whole content of Historic Christianity, or else they will be driven on into the natural conclusion of their thinking, Unitarianism.

There are a number of books in the new course which share with Professor Rall this mediating and impossible theological position. This is the position of the late Professor Bowne, it is that of President Hyde in his The Five Great Philosophies of Life, and of Dr. Charles Reynolds Brown in his The Main Points. Professor Hyde's book is openly bitter toward Historic Christianity; he denounces the creeds and criticizes the church practice of requiring subscription, even for determining the substance of doctrine. These books sacrifice the Bible, the Atonement, justi-

fication by faith, and the related Christian doctrines, and reduce Christianity to the ethics of love in which Christ stands only as the great teacher and ideal. Any explanation fails to come to our mind as to how, in view of the positive law of the last General Conference, such books, and especially such a baldly hostile book as Hyde's, could ever have been suggested by the Commission. Their approval by the bishops can only be explained by supposing that they did not fully grasp their doctrinal bearing.

Dr. Washington Gladden's book, The Christian Pastor, is written from the liberal point of view. It has many strong and commendable features, but its point of view is antagonistic to Historic Christianity, and this antagonism is very definite at points.

The volume on Sociology by Professor Hayes of Illinois State assumes the Darwinian positions in philosophy. He affirms the gradual ascent of the race from some lower form, and even fixes the approximate antiquity of man at some hundreds of thousands of years. These things are given out as science, when as a matter of fact they are simply his own chosen beliefs. Darwinianism is a rapidly declining hypothesis. Professor E. Dennert, of Halle, in a little book entitled At the Death Bed of Darwinism, asserts that nothing much is left of the system save the doctrine of descent, and that this cannot be held as science, but simply as a chosen belief. In addition to this position Professor Hayes makes conscience but an unauthoritative product of social evolution, relates inspiration to upgushes from the rich mental processes of the subconscious mind, and speaks of prayer tending to accomplish the answer of its own petitions by similar forces. The young minister who accepts the teachings of this book at these points will certainly be faced away from Historic Christianity. But the worst of it is, he will suppose he is doing this in the name of science, when as a fact it is simply in the name of an unproven philosophical bias.

Clarke's Outlines is generally recognized as a sort of text book of the moderate liberal position. It has no Fall, no Propitiation, no justification by faith, an utterly inadequate doctrine of the Trinity and a halting view of the Bible.

Dr. McGiffert's treatment of Luther and the Reformation is so biased by his own liberal views that it is not even good history. He rejects the great Protestant principle of the Bible as the rule of faith and practice, as a weight to the movement; and fails to appreciate, also, the other great Reformation principle, that of justification by faith alone. Professor McGiffert is an engaging writer, but his hostility to Historic Christianity is well known.

Each of the three books on Christian nurture is in many ways a useful volume. But each of them also comes short of being fully Christian either in presupposition or in goal. They do not assume universal depravity, and they do not seek to lead to justification by faith alone as the one condition of salvation. All of them assume that spirituality is potential, needing only education and development; and so instead of leading children to recognize their deep need of the Saviour, and to a self-abandon-

ment that utterly trusts his great redeeming work and risen almighty life, they seek to lead them simply to a self-poised ethical effort founded upon developed instincts, good habits, and noble principles. This is not the almighty redemption and regeneration of Christ, but rather a return to the Old Testament. The issue we are raising is not one concerning a crisal as compared with a gradual experience, but one concerning whether experience shall center at all in an act of justifying faith in the Redeemer.

In every instance the Commission could have chosen equal or superior books whose point of view is positive. Why they did not will be for them to explain, but to make clear what they could have done we offer the following suggestions:

1. For Rall's New Testament History, Schaff's Apostolic Christianity.

2. For Brown's The Main Points, Simpson's The Fact of Christ.

3. For Walker's Church History, Moncrief's or Hurst's.

4. For Bowne's Studies in Christianity, his Personalism. Bowne was a great philosophical thinker, but he did not have a sufficiently robust faith in the Bible to be a theologian. His Personalism is the simplest of his great philosophical works, and would have been a useful book in the course.

5. For Hayes's Introduction to Sociology, Earp's Social Engineer, and Kidd's Social Evolution.

6. For Clarke's Outline of Christian Theology, Curtis's The Christian Faith. One of the very greatest books on positive Christianity ever written.

7. For Hyde's The Five Great Philosophies of Life, Dinsmore's The Atonement in Literature. This book would be much the more useful, though it does not cover the same exact field. The book will not only help the young minister to think about the great Christian doctrine of the atonement, but it will also give him an introduction to English literature, and be suggestive to him as to the right use of it in sermonizing.

8. For Gladden's The Christian Pastor, Fisher's The Way to Win, and perhaps also, Forsyth's Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind.

9. For McGiffert on Luther, Dr. H. E. Jacob's volume on Luther, which is in every way the superior, and is positive rather than liberal.

10. For Dr. Rall's Modern Pre-Millennialism the bishops might better have kept Campbell's little book, though this work is not as positive upon the objective second coming as our third Article.

11. For the three books on Christian nurture substitute one in this field, namely, Dr. Schmauk's volume, How to Teach in Sunday School. It would seem that one strong book on this subject is all that the course has room for.

The room left vacant by dropping the other two could be filled in by two of the following subjects that have been neglected in the course: In Archæology, such a book as Cobern's; in Apologetics, such a book as Orr's Christian View of God and the World, or The Fundamental Truths of Christianity, by Christian Ernst Luthardt. In Old Testament Criticism such a conservative work as Orr's Problem of the Old Testament, or Green's General Introduction to the Old Testament.

We conclude with this announcement. The writer of this brief paper has about completed a carefully written pamphlet in which the facts briefly set forth here are carefully discussed with numerous quotations. At the end of this pamphlet there will be a brief discussion of the present theological situation, and a list of books will be included that will be buttressing to faith. This pamphlet is for free distribution.

HAROLD PAUL SLOAN.

Bridgeton, N. J.

[NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—Dr. Sloan, well known as the courageous champion of militant Methodist orthodoxy, was the recognized leader of the party who succeeded in inserting the clause to which he refers, ¶ 210, §2, into the Discipline of the church at the last General Conference. And now it seems that he is sorely disappointed with the failure of this legislation to accomplish the results sought for.

He fails, however, to note that the order of the church made the Board of Bishops the sole censors as to the "hearty accord" of the Course of Study with the doctrines of the church, by giving them the power of "*final* approval." Their discretion is therefore absolute and beyond all criticism from the legal point of view. Of course, ours is a free church and the right of discussion of either the theological soundness or the administrative judgment of the bishops in their deliverance on any subject is open to all ministers and members, always providing that it be not conducted in such a manner as to sow dissension in the church.

But should the bishops err thirteen times (most unlucky number!), as is charged in this case, who shall be constituted a Congregation of the Index to pass on the orthodoxy of books for the preacher's study? Certainly not the General Conference, for it is not a body of experts, and no one could demand that all of its 837 members should so carefully read that they themselves could pass an examination on the forty or fifty books in the course. They would certainly have no right to pass judgment upon them on the basis of garbled quotations, recklessly flung out in a heated partisan debate.

The bishops may not be experts on all scientific questions, but, if some one must speak *ex cathedra* on a dogmatic issue, who else could be chosen for that purpose but our chief pastors, who alone officially represent the church? We certainly cannot entrust such an issue for final approval to any one or many private popes even though they were as erudite as Dr. Sloan.

The difficulties confronted by any Board of Censors as to the orthodoxy of books are insuperable. No course could be framed of any works worthy of study that would, in every particular, command the universal agreement, even of competent experts. Most of us will find in any good book much matter for drastic criticism. Vital and original books are most subject to this embarrassment. Some of us, including Dr. Sloan and the Editor, will be very confident that we could have furnished a better curriculum. But that does not prove that the course provided is not an excellent one, or that the books are in any sense heretical, or that the

church is drifting away from the "faith once for all delivered to the saints."

An absolutely convincing evidence of this is furnished by Dr. Sloan himself when he daringly sets out to solve the perplexing problem of suggesting substitutes for the thirteen books he would exclude. Most of his list are excellent treatises in their way, but many of them could be made the subject of as fiery a censure as any of the dubious (?) thirteen in the course.

For example, let us take what is perhaps the noblest of all the volumes he commends, Dr. Peter Taylor Forsyth's great Yale lectures on Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind. It is an intensely evangelical book, passionately pleading for preaching the Divine Christ and his Cross. Yet the intellectual background of his appeal is Modernist in the highest degree. He should, perhaps, be theologically classified as a Ritschlian of the right wing. (Dr. Orr, one of whose books Dr. Sloan suggests, is intensely anti-Ritschlian.) The critical attitude of Dr. Forsyth is largely that of a work he freely uses in his lectures, Theodore Kaftar's *Die Neue Theologie des alten Glaubens*, The New Theology of the Old Faith.

Here are some of the utterances of Dr. Forsyth to the divinity students at Yale. We quite agree with Dr. Sloan that, set in their evangelical context, they would be quite worthy of a place in our Course of Study.

First, as to Holy Scripture:

"We must meet criticism of the Bible with a hospitable face" (p. 165).

"The Higher Criticism is a gift of the Spirit which gave us the Bible" (p. 248).

"Criticism no longer allows the Bible to occupy that place" (that of external authority). And, in the same connection, he asserts, "the freedom of the individual from external authority. Whether that authority be Bible, Church, or Dogma, merely as such, faith renounces them all" (p. 258).

Second, as to Christian Doctrine:

"Theology, if it is to be of any real use to the preacher, must be modernized" (p. 247).

"The old faith demands a new theology" (p. 206).

"A systematic theology easily becomes doctrinaire, and an orthodoxy soon becomes obsolete. It were well to banish antiquated words like orthodoxy and heterodoxy, as anything but historical terms. They belong to an outgrown age when a formal theology had a direct saving value for the individual soul; when there was an external authority to make a standard in an inerrant Bible, a final Confession and an infallible Church" (p. 202). And he adds, "an orthodox theology is a canned theology gone stale" (p. 203).

Forsyth commends a treatise on divinity which we respectfully refer for the careful consideration of the Commission on Courses of Study and also to the Board of Bishops as a possible substitute for W. Newton Clarke's Outlines of Christian Theology. He gives this high praise to Christian Theology in Outline, by William Adams Brown of Union Theo-

logical Seminary, that it is "the most able outline of theology which we now possess in English" (p. 267). But they had better be cautious as to the substitution. It would certainly excite a keener cry of dissent from Dr. Sloan himself than that caused by Dr. Clarke's somewhat rhetorical divinity.

Dr. Sloan uses very freely the phrase "historic Christianity." We are not quite certain of the meaning he would give the term. Probably he would object to our translating it "traditionalism." But whatever its definition, it certainly expresses an attitude on the development of doctrine quite unlike that of Dr. Forsyth, who says: "We cannot go back to the fountain head and simply ignore 2,000 years of Christian evolution" (p. 143), and he concludes by saying, "Those who suggest such a thing are devoid of the historical sense" (p. 144).

One cannot question the sincerity of Dr. Sloan in the brave blow he strikes as a defender of the faith. But does not the above illustration reveal the fact that he is a Don Quixote tilting futilely against windmills rather than a Saint George slaying the dragon? One protest must be put forth against his propaganda. It is a distinct attack upon the intellectual loyalty of the Commission on Courses of Study. Such an attack at once becomes absurd as we scan the names and weigh the religious values of the men who constitute the Commission.

Here they are: Bishop Edwin H. Hughes, chairman, son of the manse, successful pastor and winner of souls, a preeminent gospel preacher; Bishop Charles B. Mitchell, who possesses the richest Methodist relationships, probably, of any man in Methodism; Bishop Francis J. McConnell, one of the world's greatest Protestant leaders; Professor Harris Franklin Rall, an outstanding expert both in historical and systematic theology; Professor F. Watson Hannan, wonderful expositor of Holy Scripture; Dr. George R. Grose, who went from a richly fruitful pastorate to a university presidency; Wallace MacMullen, Polemus H. Swift, and Lucius H. Bugbee, evangelical pastors and great preachers of a spiritual gospel; David G. Downey, Book Editor, the brilliant leader of the last General Conference, whom it would have elected to the episcopacy had he given consent.

To indict such a rollcall of prophets and teachers as having the slightest sympathy with any teaching not in "hearty accord" with our doctrines can only be possible to a blind bravery which is devoid of clear insight. These men are *real* Methodists and Christians, whose theology is that described by Dr. Forsyth: "It is evangelical Christianity—Christianity, not as a creed nor as a process, but as a Holy Spirit's energy and act, issuing always from the central act and achievement of God and of history in the Cross of Christ" (p. 205).]

BIBLICAL RESEARCH

THE SOCIAL MESSAGE OF THE PROPHETS[1]

While swings the sea, while mists the mountains shroud,
While thunder's surges burst on cliffs of cloud,
Still at the prophets' feet the nations sit.—J. R. Lowell.

The significant and unique feature of the prophetical movement is the attempt to make religion consistently coextensive with life itself.—M. Jastrow.

Men divinely taught, and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government
In their majestic unaffected style
Than all the orators of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught and easiest learned
What makes a nation happy and keeps it so,
What ruins kingdoms and lays cities flat. —John Milton.

THE prophet is rather a forthteller than a foreteller; his insight is a higher quality than his foresight. His mission to future ages gets its abiding significance from the vital fact that it was primarily a legation to his own time and people. He was more than a manufacturer of holy riddles for mystery-mongers to guess; he was more than a cunning confuser of the tenses of grammar and of human history, constructing scrapbooks of Providence from fragments taken at random from any time in duration for theological skill to rearrange. The prophet is God's spokesman. He is a man who, knowing God at first hand, divines his will and declares it to men. He is thus an incarnate conscience, a spiritual ethic flung into speech.

In the study of the Old Testament, a sure historic basis is found in the prophetic literature of the eighth century before our Lord. The prophets vividly portray, not chiefly the names and deeds of kings and priests, but the very life of the common people. The books of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah are human documents of the first order. They throb with living reality and thrill with human passion. They agonize with all the tragedy of poverty and pain; they exult with all the ecstasy of human aspiration.

The prophets of Israel, just because they were spokesmen for Jehovah, were above all things the tribunes of the people. These courageous monitors of kings, these stern critics of the nobility, were even more the champions of the lowly. The typical prophet is not an official religionist. He may indeed come from the priestly caste, as did Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but in his prophetic character he is simply a citizen with a message. The shepherd Amos, the peasant Micah, the courtier Isaiah, the farmer

[1] This study of a single feature in Hebrew prophecy was written by the present editor of the METHODIST REVIEW for a volume entitled Social Ministry, published by The Methodist Book Concern in 1910, now out of print. It is reproduced by permission of the publishers, as a scriptural interpretation to accompany the contributed articles in this issue on the Industrial Situation.

Hosea all come from the ranks of the people under the compulsion of the divine call. They are laymen, whose consecration to their work is simply that they are possessed of God, and so are fitted to be not merely the consolers, but the defenders and advocates of the common man.

It is noteworthy that the period of the appearing of the great literary prophets was at one of those moments of seeming national and commercial prosperity which are so often seasons of moral and spiritual decay. The northern kingdom of Israel, under the brilliant reign of Jeroboam II, had recovered the old-time dominion of Solomon; the kingdom of Judah, under Uzziah, had largely extended its borders and strengthened its military defenses. But the growth of power and wealth was accompanied by a decay of manhood. This is too frequently the secret history of what the superficial chronicler calls prosperous times. The fortunes of the rich are often fattened from the flesh and blood of the poor. The economic inequality produced by the rapid growth of great estates soon ripens into inequity, or rather iniquity. Such was the social crisis which formed the occasion for the ministry of the early prophets. Their message is therefore one of the highest social significance. The later prophets have simply developed and perfected their ideals.

1. *The prophets condemn luxury.* They profoundly distrust that illusion of progress which is the progress of things rather than of men. The outward signs of prosperity, which to the commonplace mind are the index of social success and advancement, are to them the harbingers of doom. That sun-dried brick has given place to hewn stone in house-building (Amos 5. 11), that costly cedar is used instead of simple sycamore (Isa. 9. 10), that the furniture is inlaid with ivory (Amos 6. 4), that the land is full of silver and gold, that horses and chariots have multiplied (Isa. 2. 7), that the wealthy can afford both a winter and a summer house (Amos 3. 15), that precious perfumes are used in the toilet—these things were to them not the flush of health on the cheek of the Virgin of Zion, but the hectic glow betokening social and national disease.

A constant phenomenon attending the growth of luxury and sensuous comfort is the degradation of womanhood. The helpmeet of man becomes a social parasite. Isaiah pictures the affected manners and lascivious airs of the fine ladies of Jerusalem, and catalogues with meticulous detail the paraphernalia of their wardrobe and toilet; then with scorching words he proclaims the fading of all this feminine frivolity before the wrath of Jehovah (Isa. 3. 16-24). The shepherd of Tekoa still more rudely apostrophizes the women of Samaria as "You Bashan cows"! He denounces their callous selfishness toward the poor, by whose toil and sacrifice their idle luxury is won, and portrays the pampered female exacting from her husband the means of gratifying her perverted appetites (Amos 4. 1-3). It is all very modern, this drastic excoriation of the world of fashionable society, with its imperious rule of folly and frivolity, its wanton waste, its ostentation and pomp, its gluttony and greed, its brainless pride and moral flippancy.

The prophets, far from being deluded by the economic fallacy of "making work," saw clearly that all wasteful and extreme luxury means

the impoverishment of the common man. A noble expression of their attitude is the terrible "judgment" of Jehoiakim spoken by Jeremiah. Against this monarch, who had introduced Egyptian and Babylonian luxury, the prophet pronounced the awful doom:

Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by injustice;
That maketh his neighbor toil without wages, and giveth him no hire;
That saith, I will build me a wide house and spacious chambers,
And openeth out broad windows, with woodwork of cedar and vermilion painting. (Jer. 22. 13ff.)

The pages of prophecy are full of descriptions of the drunkenness and licentiousness that follow closely in the wake of sensuous luxury of living.

2. *The prophets stoutly oppose all monopoly of the means of subsistence, and other forms of economic oppression.* They see clearly that grossly unequal distribution of wealth, with the consequent inequality of economic advantage, is the sure condition of all forms of social injustice, oppression, and cruelty.

Wealth was not lacking either in Israel or Judah at the time when the great prophets began their ministry. In what is perhaps the very earliest of his oracles, Isaiah declares:

Israel's land is become full of silver and gold—endless the sum of his treasures;
His land is become full of horses—endless the number of his chariots. (Isa. 2. 7.)

But the nobles have succeeded in appropriating to themselves this prosperity:

Jehovah enters into judgment with the elders of his people, and the judges thereof, saying,
And ye, ye like cattle have devoured the vineyard; the spoil of the destitute is in your houses.
What mean ye by crushing my people and grinding the face of the destitute? (Isa. 3. 14, 15.)

Amos pictures the purse-proud monopolists as deliberately plotting the crushing out of the poor of the land by cornering wheat, of which only the refuse is sold to the needy, and the price of this worthless stuff is maintained by dishonest reduction of the measures and an increase in the weight of the shekel that purchased it (Amos 8. 4-6). Quite a modern process, to at once raise the price of the necessities of life and decrease the purchasing power of money!

The most vicious of all monopolies is that of land. For the prophets the soil is the common heritage of the people. Jehovah is the universal proprietor, the sole landlord. One of the evil results of the complex economic life following national growth and commercial prosperity was the loss of the common right to the earth which characterized the tribal system. Great estates make their appearance, the agrarian laws of Israel are systematically violated, and the poor lose their foothold on the

soil. Hosea denounces the land-grabbing of the nobles of the southern kingdom (Hos. 5. 10). Isaiah at the forefront of his seven woes proclaims:

Woe unto those who join house to house, who add field to field, till there is no more room,
And ye are settled alone in the midst of the land! (Isa. 5. 8.)

And Micah vividly describes what seems to be a concrete instance happening under his own observation:

They covet fields and seize them,
Houses, and take them away.
So they crush a good man and his house,
A man and his heritage. (Mic. 2. 1, 2.)

And Amos, in a daring hyperbole, cries that the land-lust is so consuming that the proprietors even begrudge the handful of earth that the mourning poor have sprinkled upon their heads: "They pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor" (Amos 2. 7). And Ezekiel, in his ideal picture of the restored and reconstructed Israel, announced a division of the land upon the ancient tribal lines and quite in the spirit of the old agrarian laws.

Nothing can be more clear than that the condemnation of the prophets is not merely of the inequality of opportunity but of the inequality of possession also. Can we doubt that they would actively sympathize with the modern war cry of "The earth for all!" and in our American movement for the conservation of the national domain and against the waste of our natural resources?

The concentration of capital, whether in the form of goods, money, or lands, in the hands of selfish monopolists, made possible every form of economic oppression. Early Israel was probably without any systematic mechanism of credit. But we can trace the beginnings of such a system in the period covered by literary prophecy. Usury, forbidden alike by the book of the covenant (Exod. 22. 25), the Deuteronomic legislation (Deut. 23. 20, 21), and the Levitical code, becomes common. That social blood-sucker, the chattel-mortgage shark, makes his appearance. Amos portrays a hideous case of moral perversity in which one of these vampires upon the necessities of the poor heaps up the garments received in security for debt for a couch upon which to recline before God's altar at a religious feast, at which also the very wine they drink has been exacted from these unfortunate defaulters (Amos 2. 8).

But the most tragic pledge for debt was human flesh and blood. Bond slavery, permitted by the law, under humanitarian limitations, takes on new and viler forms under the influence of selfish greed. The very first item in the catalogue of crimes for which the wrath of Jehovah is proclaimed against Israel is that "they sell an honest man for silver and a needy man for a pair of shoes" (Amos 2. 6). It seems probable that some of these wretched victims of avarice were bought by foreign traders and so placed beyond redemption by the law (Amos 8. 6).

There is still a lower deep; unequal wealth means the poisoning

of the fountains of civil justice. The courts are corrupted by the influence of social privilege and direct bribery. Micah charges the rulers with spurning justice and perverting equity. What if Jerusalem is more splendid than ever before? Her walls have been laid in blood and crime, and justice is bought and sold (Mic. 3. 9-11). Isaiah mourns the failure of justice in Zion:

> Thy rulers are unruly and companions of thieves;
> Every one loves bribes and is running after fees;
> The cause of the widow comes not near them, the orphan they right not.
> (Isa. 1. 21-23.)

Money could purchase immunity from deserved punishment (Isa. 5. 23). Jehovah, looking for justice as the fairest fruit of his vineyard, laments:

> I hoped for good rule, and behold, blood rule;
> And for law keeping, and behold, law breaking. (Isa. 5. 7.)

And Amos charges the proud and wealthy nobles of Israel with bullying the pious poor and, by bribery, depriving the needy of their rights at the forum of justice (Amos 5. 12). And so, he declares in another place, the sweetness of justice is turned into the bitterness of wormwood and gall, and healthful righteousness into poison (Amos 5. 7; 6. 12). And two centuries later Ezekiel concludes a summary of the transgressions of the aristocracy of Jerusalem with the words, "In thee bribes are taken to shed blood; thou takest interest and increase, and oppressest thy neighbor by extortion, and me thou forgettest, saith the Lord Jehovah. Behold, I smite my hands together at the extortion thou practicest, and the blood which is in the midst of thee" (Ezek. 22. 12, 13).

3. *The prophets are the partisan pleaders for the poor against the selfish oppression of the rich.* Their teaching is substantially that of Piers Plowman:

> Grace ne groweth not but amongst the low,
> Patience and poverty is the place where it groweth.

The Puritan or Jehovist party in Israel, of which the prophetic school was the leader, had as their fixed purpose the protection of the weak against the strong. The poor are the especial clients and care of Jehovah. Indeed, the words used for the poor, meek, humble (*ani, anivim, ebionim*) become at last synonymous with pious, righteous. And "rich" becomes almost an interchangeable term with "wicked." They quite anticipate the teaching of Jesus, whose first beatitude was spoken of the poor, and who warned the rich of the difficulty of entering the kingdom of heaven. The true servants of Jehovah are the poor and weak, who are oppressed by the wealthy and persecuted by the powerful.

4. *The prophets are not only preachers of righteousness, but practical politicians and social reformers.* Their political ideal is that of a theocratic democracy. In such a conception, the whole of human life becomes the sphere of religious activity. It is impossible to divorce either ethics,

or that particular department of ethics we call politics, from religion. And so the prophet, by the very necessities of his office, becomes, in the best sense of the word, a politician. As a true patriot, his vision of the divine righteousness must inform the whole range of social and civic duty. Not that all of them are constructive statesmen. Some of them, like Amos, are simply preachers and agitators; others, like Jeremiah, are the leaders of political opposition; but others, as Isaiah, grasping a true philosophy of history and having a broad comprehension of the national movements of their own time, are the propounders of a practical policy of reform; while still others, like Ezekiel, construct an ideal commonwealth in which the principles of social justice and pure religion shall find final expression.

It would be too much to say that they were wholly successful in their efforts toward reform. Unquestionably, however, the partial reform attempted by Hezekiah, and the greater revolution under Josiah, were almost wholly inspired by the preaching of the prophets. It would be easy to show that the Deuteronomic legislation, especially on its humanitarian side, fits, point by point, the teaching of the course of prophecy from Amos to Zephaniah.

The limits of this paper do not permit a detailed discussion of the noble Deuteronomic code. The unfriendly language of Renan states in but slightly exaggerated form the facts in the case. "It is the program of a sort of theocratic socialism, the aim of which is mutual solidarity, which ignores the individual, which reduces almost to zero civil and military order, and which suppresses luxury and trade."

It is noteworthy that in his great summation of the moral law, Jesus has a twofold source for his quotation. From the great "credo" of Israel, the confession of the unity in Deuteronomy, he quotes, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart"; while in the Levitical Law of Holiness he finds its human complement, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." And this, he says, is the "law and the prophets."

The civil codes of the Hebrew people, which have been for the ages the bulwark of political and social justice, were wrought out under the influence of the Hebrew prophets.

5. *The prophets enforce social righteousness by religious sanction.* In their battle for social justice they had but one weapon; the sword of the prophets is the name and nature of Jehovah, the God of Israel. Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, as Isaiah calls him, is a God of justice.

The ethical character of God was no discovery of theirs. This was already implicit in the covenant relation of Jehovah to his people. Besides this relation, involving mutual duties and obligations between Israel and her God, there was the warm personal conception of the kinsman, comrade God, the Father who has chosen Israel to be his son, who is the husband even of the faithless spouse, who is the Shepherd carefully tending these sheep of his pasture and carrying the weak in his arms. This is the very summit of the Old Testament revelation—a God who is at the service of man.

A God of justice, a God of love—such is the twofold spiritual basis of

social justice given us by the Hebrew prophets. Hebrew monotheism is wholly based upon this ethical conception of Deity. It was probably by reflection upon the righteousness of Jehovah that the conviction came of his universal sovereignty. Righteousness is no local attribute; it is one and the same everywhere. Through the vision of a righteous God, the earlier henotheism was transformed into spiritual monotheism. History has justified the claim of the prophets, and the Hebrew Jehovah has won acceptance as the only true God through this attribute of righteousness.

This high vision of God involved the union in thought and practice of morals and religion. A God who is justice and love can be truly worshiped only by the doing of justice and by love to God and man. The prophets become the severest critics of unethical worship. Jehovah proclaims through Isaiah:

> Trample the courts of my temple no more, nor bring me oblations;
> Vain the sweet vapor of incense, to me it is hateful. . . .
> Wash, make you clean, and no more let your sin smite my vision.
> (Isa. 1. 12-26.)

And still more strongly does God speak through Amos:

> I hate, I loathe your feast days,
> I will not smell the savor of your offerings. . . .
> Let justice roll on like water,
> And righteousness as a perennial stream. (Amos 5. 21-24.)

Again he says, "Seek ye Jehovah, and live," but almost immediately defines the method of seeking Jehovah, "Hate evil and love good, and in the gate set justice on her feet again" (Amos 5. 6, 15). And God speaking by Hosea says: "I will have loyal love, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God rather than burnt offerings" (Hos. 6. 6), while Micah in a classic passage gives the very heart of ethical piety:

> He hath shown thee, O man, what is good;
> And what is Jehovah seeking from thee,
> But to do justice and love mercy,
> And humbly to walk with thy God? (Mic. 6. 8.)

A just and loving God demands justice and love in his worshipers. The social doctrine of the prophets has its source in the heart of the Eternal.

6. *The prophets emphasize the need of social righteousness.* The stress of their moral teaching is always placed on social rather than individual relations. Their ethics are not the ethics of rights but of duties, the ethics of love and self-sacrifice. They view the nation as a moral personality, capable of national sins and subject to a national doom. Their appeal is to the social consciousness, and the purpose of their message is to waken a social conscience. It is "Israel" that has sinned, "Jacob" that has erred, "Ephraim" and "Judah" that have forgotten Jehovah, and upon "Samaria" and "Jerusalem" shall fall the thunderbolts of divine displeasure.

Doubtless this notion of social solidarity had its roots in the old life of the clan, with its primitive ideas of kinship and blood-brotherhood. When the tribe disappears in the nation, the notion of solidarity becomes more highly moralized, but is not lost. Indeed, a main problem of our modern life is to preserve, under the artificial forms of a contractual civilization, in some spiritualized form, the vital bonds of that primitive world in which status rather than contract ruled.

While personal vices are condemned and personal virtue exalted, the condemned vices are mainly those which have their root in the violation of social justice and the virtues are those which grow out of the maintenance of righteous relations.

With the dissolution of the national life at the time of the exile, the emphasis is apparently removed from the nation to the individual. But there is no real abandonment of the older standpoint. The notion of solidarity is not lost but transferred to the righteous remnant in which dead Israel finds a resurrection. The notion of a saved residue, who shall escape the national doom, gives rise indeed to the doctrine of individual responsibility. The classic passages are Jer. 31. 29-34 and the entire eighteenth chapter of Ezekiel. Both these prophets condemn the use of the proverb, "The fathers eat sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge," and assert instead the moral responsibility of the individual: "The soul that sins, it alone shall die." But it should carefully be noted that in the statement of this principle the emphasis is still placed on social duties. The individual shall live or die before Jehovah according as he has kept the social law of God. Thus Ezekiel: "If a man be righteous, doing justice and righteousness, . . . if he oppress no one, restore the pledge, commit no spoliation, give bread to the hungry and clothe the naked, lend not at interest nor take increase, withdraw his hand from iniquity, execute true justice between man and man, . . . he is righteous, he shall live, saith the Lord Jehovah" (Ezek. 18. 5-9). In other words, personal salvation is secured only by social self-realization.

Prophecy reaches its high-water mark in the Oracles of Consolation, found in Isaiah from the fortieth chapter to the end. The ethics of duty suddenly blossom into the ethics of love and self-sacrifice. The exile is seen as the very condition of a wider spiritual mission for Israel. Is Israel scattered? It is only that she may render a universal human service, that her God, who is himself an infinite missionary force, may be given to the nations. The climax is reached in the Songs of the Suffering Servant, in which the ideal of self-denying sacrifice for the common good vibrates between the redeemed community and the solitary sufferer in whose passion of self-denying pain the shadow of the cross falls backward upon the pages of prophecy.

This is the consummation of prophecy, the creation of redeemed society, every member of which shall realize his larger self in the loving service of all. It is equally far removed from the cast-iron formulas of a mechanical socialism, and the atomism of loveless individualism which seems to be the conquering creed of our own time. The social message of the prophets has meaning for the twentieth century.

7. *The prophets predict the triumph of social righteousness.* The predictive element in Hebrew prophecy grows naturally out of their social message to their own time. For their own age they have little hope. Israel is doomed, for Jehovah will vindicate justice even by the destruction of his own people. They seem to be profoundly pessimistic with regard to their own age. The sins of oppression and wrong cannot go unavenged. They sharply criticise the superficial optimism of official prophetism. Those jingo-prophets, as they may be called, were apologists of the existing order, defenders of vested interests, timeserving preachers of a fashionable and easy-going religion, and shameless praiser of their own times. (Jeremiah, *passim*, especially chapter 23.)

"The day of Jehovah," which the true prophets herald, is to be the vindication of their ministry. It will come both as doom and deliverance; evil will be ended and right rewarded. Out of a righteous remnant Jehovah will resurrect and recreate Israel.

One example out of the many may be cited. The prophets have not been greatly in love with city life, for in the city all social wrongs are intensified. Yet they dare to dream of a holy city whose very name shall be "Jehovah is there." "Behold I have founded in Zion a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone of sure foundation. . . . And I will set justice for a line, and righteousness for a plummet" (Isa. 28. 16, 17).

The Messianic reign is predicted as a triumph of social justice. The king had always been appealed to as the special protector of the poor, the champion of the masses against the aristocracy. Much more shall this be true of that ideal Prince whose coming is the crown of prophecy. "Behold, a king shall rule in righteousness, and princes shall rule in justice" (Isa. 32. 1). Of this king, bearing divine names, it is proclaimed:

> With righteousness will he judge the helpless,
> With equity will he decree for the destitute in the land,
> And he will smite tyrants with the rod of his mouth. (Isa. 11. 4.)

Quite in the spirit of the prophets a psalmist sings:

> He shall judge the afflicted of the people,
> He shall save the children of the needy,
> And shall crush the oppressor. . . .
> He shall deliver the needy crying for help,
> And the afflicted when he has no helper.
> He shall have pity on the poor and needy;
> And the souls of the needy shall he save.
> Against fraud and wrong he shall champion their life,
> And precious shall their blood be in his eyes. (Psa. 72. 4, 12ff.)

The prophets interpret history as a divine process whose consummation shall be a world "wherein dwelleth righteousness."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

THE METHODISTS, THE FASCISTI, AND THE ROMAN QUESTION

THE Italian Fascisti, who reserve the right to take offense at anything and everything, have now taken offense at the Methodist establishment in the city of the Popes.

To understand the present difficulty the topography and the business directory of Rome must be recalled. As you walk up along the celebrated Corso of the Pincio, from which a magnificent view of the Eternal City spreads out before your eyes, you see towering in the distance the cupola of Michael Angelo dominating the Vatican, and the gardens where the Pope goes for his daily walks. Beyond that rises a hill top, covered with trees for the most part, and peering from these latter the walls of an ancient fortress. That is Monte Mario, an historic outpost of the Papal guards, which Italian soldiers stormed in 1870. From whichever way you look at Monte Mario, it is evident that the people occupying the summit hold a point of vantage over the Vatican. Thence you can peep into the Pope's rear windows, so to speak.

Monte Mario has for years been an abandoned military reservation. Recently it was decided to apply it to the solution of the housing problem. It was surveyed for streets, parks, apartment houses. The land was parcelled off for sale.

At this point the Rev. Mr. Tipple enters with his Methodists. For years the Italian headquarters of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been located at Via Venti Settembre, near the historic Porta Pia through which Victor Emmanuel broke his way into the last remaining stronghold of temporal power. The Methodists have long since outgrown these quarters. So they decided to purchase one of the best sites on the newly opened Monte Mario for the erection of a magnificent office building and a well equipped educational institute.

The prospect of a conspicuous, an imposing monument to Protestantism, rising not under the very nose, but over the very head of the Catholic Vatican, and advertising its wealth and elegance in the face of all Rome, has proved intensely exciting to two classes in Italian opinion: the Clericals, of course, and the Nationalists. The latter, who are often in alliance with the Clericals and are always ready to lend support to any reactionary cause, have opened a spirited discussion of the Methodist project in their organ, L'Idea Nazionale.

The Nationalists maintain that the Italian Government should prohibit the erection of the Methodist institute both for patriotic and political reasons. "The Reformation," they say, "was, in its origin, a movement in opposition to Rome. . . . No one can deny that the Reformation has been and still remains a product of Germany; while Catholicism has been and remains Latin and Italian. And it has long been evident to everyone that the Methodists have been supporting a number of institutions in Rome and are now intending to build on Monte Mario in a spirit of Protestant defiance to Catholicism and the Vatican.

"But a national question also is involved. These Methodist institutions make a pretense of internationalism. They display the flags of various peoples on their façades. But, in reality, they are centers of Anglo-Saxon infiltration. So true is this that the language predominating in the instruction they give is the English language. From Constantinople to Gibraltar, in Syria, Tunis, Algeria, and now in Rome itself, the Anglican churches, of one sect or another, are prosecuting the same work. This activity should be looked into closely; for it is directed mainly against the interests and the civilization of the Latins. We cannot afford to permit the visible standard of this movement to be raised over Rome and in the face of Rome, which contains the most sacred monuments of Latin genius."

The press campaign once under way, the Catholic associations entered the debate by petitions of protest against the intention of the Methodists "to offer deliberate offense to the feelings of all Catholics, and to make open avowal of hatred against the Vicar of Christ and the religion he stands for."

To get the Methodist view of the matter, I went around to the rooms of the National Methodist Council for Italy, where I was welcomed by Mr. Tipple cordially. Mr. Tipple did not seem in the least concerned by the uproar his project had started.

"The suggestion," he averred, "that the Methodist Church is doing anti-Italian propaganda in Italy is too preposterous to deserve denial. The Methodist Episcopal Church is a Universal Church like the Church of Rome. We have congregations and pastors in every nation on earth. We have been located in Italy for fifty years past, and not an act, not a gesture hostile or unsympathetic toward Italy can be brought forward to our reproach. Can the Vatican say as much? We have nothing but spiritual concerns in mind. We have never touched a finger to politics. Can the Vatican say as much?

"The historical questions raised by the alleged identification of Protestantism with Germanic culture and of Catholicism with the Latin are too intricate for off-hand discussion. Suffice the observation that Italy is no longer the property of the Pope and events of the last century have shown that the best citizens of Italy are determined that their country shall never again be so subject. Our Methodist schools in Italy have been cradles of Italian patriotism. Among our pupils here in Rome were the two grandsons of Garibaldi himself, Enzo and Costanzo, who fell in the Argonne.

"The charge that we use the English language in our schools is false. Our work is done in Italian, and our pastors are Italians also. It is true that on the Executive Council of our Church in Rome, which is democratically elected every four years, there is one representative from the United States. But all the rest are Italians.

"In building on Monte Mario, we had in mind to provide suitable quarters for the hundreds of Protestant young men and women who come to Rome each year for purposes of study. We chose the land there because that was the best proposition made to us. The land has been on

public sale for a long time. Anybody could have bought it. The architect we have chosen is an able one, Mr. Pazzi. He has built some of the finest edifices in Rome, and he will be sure to produce something that will be a credit and not an offense to the wonderful monuments about us.

"The idea that our selection of that particular site was a deliberate offense to the Pope's feelings is again preposterous. We make no secret of our competition with the Catholic Church; but we don't fight stupidly. We vie with the Catholics in the service we render to the public in spiritual and social ways. Which of us is the more successful if we leave others to judge? But in this work we are protected by the laws of Italy; and on those laws the Methodist Church relies, as the Catholic Church relies on the protection of American laws in prosecuting its propaganda in the United States.

"It is true that American and English Protestants send us contributions to sustain a work too great for our Italian brothers to do entirely on their own resources. But does the Pope spurn the money sent him by Catholics in the United States? Are Italian Methodists who use American funds less loyal on that account than Italian Catholics who likewise use American funds?"

So ran Mr. Tipple's argument. And indeed so patently sound is his reasoning, so baseless is the agitation against the Methodists, whether in Italian law or Italian public opinion, that it is important to look farther to find an explanation of the present flurry. For Italy has fine tradition of religious tolerance. Quarrels between sects are practically unknown to this country.

The fact is that the Italian press, including even newspapers credited with reflecting government views, have recently been hinting at the necessity of arriving at a solution of the "Roman Question," which has been pending now for some fifty years. England is sending a representative to the Vatican. France has revived the Ambassadorship she suppressed a decade or more ago. "Very well," argue the Nationalists, who want Italy to do everything that anybody else does, "that shows that the Papacy is regarded by leading powers as playing a distinct role in European affairs. Why should Italy alone hold aloof, contenting herself with a position of inferiority in dealing with the Pope?" And a Constitutionalist paper, even, Il Tempo, comes out frankly in favor of Italy's "abandoning a necessary strip of territory to the absolute sovereignty of the Papacy, that the church may appear to the whole world of believers as beyond question free from the intimidation and control of any particular nationality."

Are we going back to the temporal power of the Popes? The proposition seems quite absurd. And indeed the Osservatore Romano, the Pope's official organ, has issued a denial of all such rumors in circulation.

Nevertheless, I wish to state a fact that cannot be denied. The government of Mr. Nitti did initiate negotiations with the Vatican with a view to settlement of the Roman Question. The Premier's intermediary was Baron Carlo Monti, Director General of the Religious Budget under the department of Justice and Pardons. Baron Monti was a schoolmate

of the present Pope and has access to His Holiness on terms of the greatest intimacy. In those circumstances he was in a position to negotiate matters pertaining to his official duties in a confidential and uncompromising way.

Thus the attack on the Methodists is easily explainable. It is a groping search for an issue on which to bring an unpopular view before the public in a manner mistakenly calculated to provoke least resentment.

GIUSEPPE PREZZOLINI.

Rome, Italy.

THE DISTRESS IN THE REALM OF HIGHER CULTURE

WAR'S desolations are not all directly visible. The damage, for example, wrought by the great war to the cause of learning, literature, and art can never be fully known; its seriousness will doubtless be more keenly felt after one or two decades than it is possible to feel it to-day.

It would be vain to try to guess how many kindling lights of genius were extinguished by the war. We do, however, know that the mortality in the student world, that is, in the ranks of those who gave promise of intellectual leadership, was very great. This was the case with the British army in an unusual degree, at least in the protracted early period before Parliament resorted to conscription; for university students volunteered with greater freedom than any other class in the population. But neither in Great Britain nor in the other countries were the losses limited to youth that could not as yet have proved its powers. Not a few scholars, poets, and artists of riper years met death directly through the violence of war. Others doubtless came to their end prematurely, or are destined still to do so, because of the privations or the other distresses of the war. In Central Europe, in Russia (where the Bolshevists have openly denounced the "Intelligentsia," or the educated class), and to some extent in France and Belgium, many university professors as well as private scholars were reduced to sheer poverty. The mortality in these circles since 1916 or 1917 has been decidedly above the normal average. This is to be referred in part, no doubt, to the deadly nervous tension of the period of the war and the uncertainties of the time since its close; but certainly it is due in part to the under-nutrition which was the lot of nearly all civilians in Central Europe and of many in other countries. Travelers in Germany and Austria since the signing of the armistice have been startled to find even in the case of famous scholars unmistakable signs of insufficient nutrition. And as for the students in the universities, nearly all the able-bodied were in the fighting ranks, but, returning to their studies, many of them have been sadly underfed.

All this, of course, threatens to cripple learning and art. Indeed, such a result is inevitable. There is, however, another side of the matter. While the war has quenched many a kindling fire of genius, and while many of the rewards of learning and art are no longer in prospect, the war has stirred the human spirit to its depths. If the shallower minds and less earnest souls have merely been bewildered or perhaps plunged

into pessimism, the deeper and more courageous spirits have struggled with the problems of life and religion as never before. In the era now opening before us we shall hardly expect from European scholars as many works of vast erudition and minute research as the last generation has produced, but we may well hope to see bolder and more intensely original thinking in the new era than is to be found in the work of the era which the war brought to a close. The war has made impossible a slavish adherence to the thought of the last generation. Both in thought and action there must be either powerful new construction or else decadence.

If there shall come a decadence in the realm of learning and art it cannot be for want of a challenging occasion. The distress in the realm of higher culture is due largely to the fearful curtailment of material resources. Especially in Germany, Austria, and Russia the academic career has only bitter hardships to promise ambitious young scholars. Unless they have considerable private means they cannot hope to live in reasonable comfort and enjoy the freedom from care that is so requisite to literary and scientific production. Along with this most personal distress in the realm of learning there is the embarrassment due to the extraordinary cost of the publication of books. This is felt everywhere; many a worthy book is left unpublished even in Great Britain and America because under present conditions the publishers dare not assume the risk. The case is worse in France, Austria, and Germany. Then there is bitter complaint from Continental librarians and the scholars who must draw from their stores. The purchase of new books has been greatly reduced; foreign books, with the present rates of exchange, stand at almost prohibitive prices for Germany and Austria. But perhaps the most threatening condition is the inability of impoverished countries to appropriate adequate sums for the equipment and enlargement of universities and other institutions of higher learning. This holds true in varying degrees for every country of Europe: for Great Britain least of all, since her universities and colleges are relatively better endowed than those of other European countries; for Austria perhaps most of all, where formerly a very large part of the maintenance of such institutions came directly from the state, and now the state is on the verge of bankruptcy. The equipment of the University of Vienna, for example, was hardly surpassed in the whole world, yet now the impoverishment of the country threatens sadly to degrade the institution. The outlook at Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, is much brighter than at Vienna. The housing problem at Prague is, however, very serious and students are building cabins for themselves. Some of the other institutions of the old Austria-Hungary are in the direst straits. The situation in Germany is very difficult, but certainly not so bad as in Austria. With the exception of the University of Frankfurt, all the universities and technological institutions of Germany depend largely upon the annual appropriations by the state. Naturally these have been much curtailed.

At the same time there is another phase of the situation that is very encouraging. This is the astonishingly large number of students in the universities and other institutions of higher learning in almost all

European countries. This state of things may be explained in part, but only in part, by the fact that the stream of youth desiring to study in universities or other institutions, having been held back for some years by the war, was released upon its close. Yet all who have looked into the matter are agreed that since the war the circle of those interested in the higher intellectual and practical problems of the age has been greatly widened. And it is not simply in the countries chiefly involved in the war that the increase in the number of students is so marked. A similar phenomenon is observable also in most of the neutral countries. Under the peculiar but varying conditions that have prevailed since 1914 the universities of Switzerland and Sweden have assumed a greater international importance than they formerly had. And even to-day it is certain that young men and women contemplating foreign study would do well not to leave Switzerland out of their reckoning. Swiss universities are in the closest touch with the thought and life of both France and Germany, and yet for the most part they are characterized by a fine intellectual independence. There are, for example, few places in all Europe so favorable for the study of modern social problems in their relation to religion as Zurich.

Of course even this pleasing phenomenon of the crowding of the halls of higher learning is not without an element of sinister foreboding. It is believed that a good many young men, especially in Germany, have entered the universities not so much from choice as because of a lack of opportunity in other directions. There seems to be danger of an overproduction of young men of professional or other higher training. The existence of a "learned proletariat" is not an element of safety in society; it means unrest, and it may prove to be the soil from which spring strategies and violence.

To glance particularly at the universities of Germany, it is a remarkable fact that since the war the attendance at each of them has exceeded that of the period before the war. This in spite of the great loss of life by the war and much financial distress since its close. Moreover, the increase has come to all the faculties of the university except the theological. The cause of a decline in the theological faculty is obvious. Now that the church is disestablished, the outlook for a secure place in her ministry where one can be reasonably sure of a decent living is not altogether reassuring. On the other hand, there is encouragement in the thought that the present distress must tend to sift out the young men who under other conditions might have entered the official ministry of the church from worldly considerations. Moreover, while the number of students of Protestant theology is considerably less than it was for a few years just before the war, it is still considerably larger than it was some ten years earlier.

As is generally well known, the university professors of Germany were and still are for the most part unfavorable to the Revolution. Not that they wish to reestablish the old regime! Almost unanimously they recognize that the autocracy of the old Hohenzollern type is, and of right ought to be, a thing of the past. What they seem to want is a strictly

limited monarchy with a genuine parliamentary government. This seems to be the attitude of the majority in university circles. And yet of course there are some ardent democrats among them. Now under these conditions—and perhaps even quite apart from them—it is natural that the government of the Republic of Germany should show less favor toward the universities than the Monarchy had done. At all events, some of the university men complain that their interests are slighted. They have been alarmed, too, by the announcement of a tentative plan of the government to eliminate certain Prussian universities by transforming them into schools for the training of men for public service. Halle and Greifswald were marked as two universities that might well suffer this transformation. That so strong a university as Halle, with its wealth of tradition, should be so designated has made the circles devoted to higher learning very apprehensive as to the future policy of the government. That the regrettable plan to discontinue certain universities will actually be carried out seems now rather improbable; the strong protests against it will hardly be disregarded. At the same time it is inevitable that the mooting of all such questions exerts a rather depressing influence upon those who are specially interested in the more idealistic lines of higher culture. The apprehensiveness in such circles is a part of the present distress in the realm of higher culture.

Turning to France, the outlook would be fairly encouraging but for two great facts: the fearful loss of young life and the great financial distress of the government. If the German indemnity could be paid fast enough, the rehabilitation of Strasbourg and the strengthening of the other universities might go on apace. But no man can close his eyes to the fact that France has suffered in a way that no indemnity can begin to make good. However, one may congratulate France especially upon the fine prospect at Strasbourg. Our readers will be interested to know that the new French Protestant faculty there is now fully organized and seems destined to attract a goodly number of students. All of the former German faculty of Protestant theology were dismissed except Lobstein and two instructors, Ménégoz and Ehrhardt, all of pronounced French sympathies. Lobstein is virtually emeritus. Besides the three just named, all of them being full professors, the faculty includes Paul Sabatier and Baldensperger and certain others. The distinguished ability of Sabatier has been universally recognized since the publication of his "Life of St. Francis of Assisi" a number of years ago. Baldensperger had been professor of New Testament exegesis at Giessen. Shortly after the outbreak of the war he, being an Alsatian of decided French proclivities, resigned his chair and retired to Switzerland. His restoration to a professorship, and that in the place where he began his academic career, is a gratification to himself and his friends.

As we now, by way of a swift review, give a backward glance at what has been said, it appears that some of the distress in the realm of higher culture must remain without remedy in this generation. The depletion of the ranks of the intellectuals by the war's destruction of life cannot be made good. And some of the distress can be only partially relieved. For

years to come there can be no really adequate material resources for the advancement of learning in Germany, Austria, and France. At one minor point relief is possible, and at this point relief is earnestly sought. Professor Seeberg and others have set forth the impossibility of getting more than a minor fraction of the works published that are ready for the press. At present rates of exchange, comparatively small gifts from America would make possible the publication of many a work of real importance which otherwise might never see the light. The same need of help is found in France, though perhaps not in an equal measure. And, finally, the movement to help needy students is worthy of our earnest help. It is the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association that has chiefly fostered this movement. Recent numbers of the Student World make the need very plain. And a work based upon the most careful observations of John R. Mott, Sherwood Eddy, and Robert P. Wilder must command our full confidence. With the exception of the call to help the starving in Europe and Asia, no call can be more urgent than the call to help the distressed students in various countries of Europe.

JOHN R. VAN PELT.

BOOK NOTICES

RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

At One with the Invisible. By Professor E. H. SNEATH and others. New York: Macmillan Company. Price, $3.

AT One with the Invisible is a symposium on mysticism, the outcome of a Yale Seminar of Prof. E. H. Sneath, who edits and contributes to the volume. Most of the writers are on the Yale faculty, but four are from other colleges. It is not a study of the history of mysticism nor of its philosophy, but a brief examination of some of the great mystics and mystical systems.

From the Old Testament the greatest prophets are chosen, the prophets who were greatest in stature and in the nature of their message, those appearing between the early ecstatic sort who had spasms of religious frenzy and the latest apocalyptic sort who dealt in descriptions of ultimate events. The inquiry leads of course to a study of the mystical experiences out of which the messages of these leaders came. Of this great group only Isaiah is ecstatic in his experiences of God. In Jeremiah prayer takes the place of vision as a method of contact with God. Perhaps it is because of this fact that Jeremiah sees that the prophetic knowledge of God is to become universal. Whether vision and ecstasy were common to these prophets or not, "they all believed themselves to be in the presence of a supreme personality who knew them and whom they knew." It is difficult for us to enter upon a psychological study of their deeper religious experiences "partly because we are not prophets and partly because they were not psychologists. And we instinctively feel that if they had been they would not have been prophets and the world would have suffered an irreparable

loss"—an acknowledgment that deep religious experience is of more value than any analysis of it can be.

The study of the mysticism of India begins with the early philosophical treatises of the seventh century B. C. and ends with Rama Krishna (1886), who influenced Keshub Chunder Sen. The Early Hindu mystic sought the changeless One by intuition, the Buddhist mystic sought harmony with the world order by lonely meditation, a method which later gave place to a series of trances, the modern mystics cultivate humility and simplicity, have spiritual agonies like those of a mediæval saint and have "fits of God-consciousness."

Paul's mysticism is given a good deal of space. He had not only a knowledge of Jewish apocalyptic but of the Hellenistic mystery religions. The propaganda of these "mystery" rivals to Christianity swept the world of his day. Tarsus was one of the early seats of the Mithraic mysteries. Paul "used the religious conceptions familiar to his hearers as the vehicle of his own teaching" and "in defending the ministry of the new covenant . . . he purposely employs all the mystical imagery of Hellenistic religion as applying to his own case and that of his fellow-ambassadors for God." The emphasis of this chapter is on Paul's greatest mystical experience—the Damascus road vision and on 2 Cor. 3 and 4.

The mysticism of Islam gets extended treatment. A modern Muslim "prayer meeting" is described and it is made clear that in present-day Mohammedanism not only the aloofness but the nearness of God is emphasized and methods, physical, formal and liturgical, are used to realize his presence.

Among the church fathers Augustine is chosen for study, the proofs and illustrations of his mysticism being taken from his "confessions" in which religion appears "not a belief, not an intellectual conviction, not a rule of life, though all these flow from religion, but a personal relationship."

From the German mystics Meister Eckhart is selected for a brief exposition and from the Spanish Saint Theresa. This Spanish nun after her full surrender to God, when she had learned her new way of prayer—mental as distinguished from vocal—one day reciting the hymn *Veni Creator*, fell into a trance, this being "the first time our Lord bestowed upon me the grace of ecstasy." Her life of prayer had four degrees—"the prayer of meditation, the prayer of recollection, the prayer of union, and the prayer of rapture." Though in her later years visions were common she did not overestimate them. True union with God was not proved by raptures.

George Fox is studied and among the poets Dante and Wordsworth.

It would have been more logical if not more reverent to have kept the study of Jesus for the last instead of having him follow Hindu mysticism. A chronological order is of less value than a spiritual climax. Moreover, the space given him is scanty, certainly not in proportion to the place he had in the lives of most of the mystics discussed. There is overmuch analysis of documents and arguments about authenticity in his case. For even if the query of the critic necessarily precedes that of

the psychologist, that is, if we must decide upon what experiences are authentic before we attempt to explain any which are recorded, still, since with Jesus, by the author's own estimate, the sense of God's presence was constant rather than occasional, there is material enough for study without such elaborate emphasis of controverted points.

The book has in it much interest and real value—religious as well as historical. WALLACE MACMULLEN.

Is Christianity the Final Religion? By A. C. BOUQUET. Crown 8vo, pp. x+350. London: Macmillan & Co., 1921. Price, $4.

Is Christianity the final religion? It is strange this question has not been more frequently discussed in our theological literature. Only one full discussion has appeared in the English language during recent years, that by Professor G. B. Foster in his volume on The Finality of the Christian Religion, published in 1906. Besides this only two chapters have dealt with the subject. One is to be found in Professor D. S. Cairns's The Reasonableness of the Christian Faith and the other in Professor R. H. Mackintosh's The Originality of the Christian Message. But it must be said that these professors of the United Free Church of Scotland have in short compass summed up the whole argument clearly and convincingly.

While there has been this all too scant treatment of the subject in the English-speaking world the theologians of Germany have been busy digging around at the ultimate foundations of the Christian faith to test their strength and ascertain what weight they could be expected to bear in the new age. Mr. Bouquet in his volume has given us at length the argument of a number of these scholars, notably Ernst Troeltsch, who has done more than all the others in a critical examination of the claims of Christianity to be the final religion. We in the English-speaking world seem to have thought it unnecessary to investigate with such diligence the right of Christianity to make such a claim. As our author puts it, "The Anglo-Saxon temperament is expansive rather than intensive, and takes more naturally to missionary enterprise than to the basis of belief." This is entirely different from the Teutonic mind, which is more speculative and intent on settling fundamental questions before undertaking practical measures.

But Mr. Bouquet is firmly convinced that conditions are such even in the world of Anglo-Saxon thought that it is high time we give ourselves to clearer and deeper thinking. We are living on the basis of a pragmatic philosophy, pleased with our missionary progress and the efficiency of our practical methods, but failing to realize that our very successes are "only a warning as to the way in which they minister to a national weakness, that is, the shelving of ultimate problems." Our author continues, "To live any longer upon the moral reserves of Christianity without solidly establishing its claim to finality has become impossible." He feels that the gospel story itself will recede in authority "unless we can most definitely establish its absolute value for religion and for human nature as a whole."

This is the burden of the introductory chapter of a most stimulating volume. The method is to present a constructive view of his own and along with that to outline the various attempts that have been made in recent years to deal with the problem, particularly in Germany. This feature obviously gives the volume added value. In order to provide background for the argument a section is devoted to the meaning and claim of Christianity as the faith has developed through the centuries. He then discusses three points which have been made in favor of the finality of Christianity—(1) that it is "racially wide and more successful in the extent of its appeal than any other," (2) that "it has satisfied more completely than other religions certain fundamental needs of human nature," (3) that "it has achieved more beneficial results, and has done more to make the earth a better planet than any other religion." In his opinion the first claim is the strongest, the second is dangerous to use, and the third can only be used with moderation. But why disparage the second claim? As one reads the argument the feeling deepens that a very strong argument has been so misstated that it has become useless—a very unfortunate result when so much possible strength lies wrapped up in that particular claim.

The conclusion which Mr. Bouquet reaches as the end of his whole investigation is clear and unequivocal: "I firmly hold Christianity to be in essence the common world religion of the future," and that "Covert uncertainty is the certain decay of all authority. If Jesus is not in some sense to us final and absolute, morals and eschatology are at once in the melting pot."

But when that has been said it may not be ungracious to point out that there are many who would have some difficulty in finding where the real weight of the case for the finality of Christianity is to be found. Much light is thrown on the subject and the criticism of other constructive attempts leaves little to be desired, but where is the nub of the argument? The question arises whether Jesus has been raised in this discussion to that place of emphasis where it can be seen with no possibility of uncertainty that the whole question hinges on him, whether in him we do come into contact with finality, with the Eternal God himself.

Then again large use is made of the argument from history, and this is inevitable, but the query comes to mind whether after all it is fully appreciated that history cannot answer our final question, that it can only testify to past achievements and to the fact that in all ages our faith has made claim to finality, that to take the final step we must tread out in faith, taking the risk of being mistaken, betting our lives, as Donald Hankey suggested, that there is a God, and that the meaning of Jesus Christ is not only exhaustless but final and complete. As Professor Mackintosh puts it, "We have to choose, with an intensely moral choice." And to quote again from the same author, "Obedience, after all, is the organ of spiritual knowledge. . . . Christianity, in short, is absolute if it dares to be. . . . No, we lose the truth except as we continually regain it, fighting the good fight of faith with decisive and fearless trust."

EDMUND D. SOPER.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

Handbook of Church Advertising. By FRANCIS H. CASE. Pp. 186. New York and Cincinnati: Abingdon Press.

Church Cooperation in Community Life. By PAUL L. VOGT. Pp. 204. Abingdon Press.

Rural Social Organization. By EDWIN L. EARP. Pp. 144. Abingdon Press.

ADVERTISE religion! Advertise the church! There are many perhaps who may be horrified at the thought, forgetting that in all centuries the church has used some means of calling attention to its work and worth. If church publicity needs justification, it is easy to find it in the methods of Paul and Peter and even the Christ himself, who compelled the public to give attention to their message. We are living in a new age. Present-day conditions force upon the church the need of new methods of appeal to call the attention of the public to its message. Pastors and laymen everywhere recognize this fact. But what can they do? They have had no training in the methods of church publicity. Competitors of the church are present at their appeal to the public. What can be done? Such men will eagerly welcome such a book as the Handbook of Church Advertising by Francis H. Case. Fortunately it is the kind of book that they need—not theoretical, being practical, suggestive, and inspiring. The "why," the principle and psychology of advertising, must be understood before we can work out the "how." In a few very short chapters suggested methods are clearly set before us. It is surprising how much is crowded into such a little space. Results of church publicity are not mere matters of conjecture, but concrete examples are given. Finally, "the real goal of advertising is not the church, not in the making of a name for the pastor. The goal of church advertising is identical with the goal of the church. Advertising is the weapon of the church militant."

No one is in better position to speak with authority on the rural church than Dr. Vogt of the Board of Home Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Four years of constant travel in the field, traveling from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Canadian border to the limits of Florida, visiting every type of rural community, has given him an opportunity to study present-day conditions, and his conclusions point to the great opportunity for service which the rural church may render, both in the local community and the country at large.

Some portions of the book will, no doubt, provoke discussion, but practically all of those who are in touch with rural life to-day will heartily agree with the position which he has taken.

It is well that he has closely defined the field of his discussion, and the meaning of the terms used, for many of these terms, though in common use, have had a variety of meanings. The church is the only agency in existence that is concerned with man in all his relationships. This discussion deals only with man's relations to his fellow men.

As the size of the task is outlined, and we realize how great it is,

the demand for trained men in the rural ministry becomes imperative. The past few years have brought a decided change as to the task of the church, and necessarily there is a new conception of what is spiritual. Many, no doubt, who have been brought up in the old school, will find it hard to accept this new conception.

The economic conditions of the country present a great challenge to the church, a challenge which the church cannot ignore, for it is shown that there is a direct relationship between economic conditions and the welfare of social and religious institutions. The minister of the gospel is often the key man in the community. He has the opportunity as no other man of bringing into the community such agencies of the state and other organizations which can, if given the opportunity, help in improving the economic, social, and moral life. It is also true that the church cannot escape the responsibility of the social and recreational life of the people it is called upon to serve. The old type of church building cannot adequately provide for this new and larger field of service. The community building becomes indispensable to modern church plants.

To interpret intelligently national and world movements, to create public sentiment, which can safeguard the minds of the people from injurious beliefs, demands a rural minister especially trained for the task and with a vision of the larger program of the church.

The problem of relationship between religious denominations is clearly stated and the evils of such a condition shown, but fortunately, the author offers a plan which may be the solution of this very vexing problem. It at least forms a basis on which denominations can meet together, and it deserves careful consideration on the part of the religious forces in America. Without doubt, when the time comes that the different denominations can cooperate in carrying out such a program as has been suggested, we shall have one of the greatest advances in the religious life of the world that have ever been witnessed.

The author of Rural Social Organization states in the preface that the book is only an outline of some rural organization principles, which may guide rural social leaders in community work. It was prepared as a text for use in the Summer School for Rural Leaders, and for this purpose it is well adapted. For the general reader, however, we wish it might have been a little more elaborate, as it deals with very vital matters connected with rural life.

There are certain social values in rural life which must be recognized in all efforts at organization for community building, and such organizations must be based upon the real needs of the community. The social groups in rural life are rapidly becoming organized. The church's task in these organizations is to give the Christian conscientiousness, to supply Christian leadership, and furnish the ideal for social order. The home, school, church, and other rural organizations are each functioning in its own particular way, but the time has come when for the common good these must all closely cooperate.

The basis and methods of rural organization are adequately dis-

cussed with plans and program for local, township, and district organizations. These, of course, are suggested and must be adapted to local use.

Five chapters are devoted to the discussion of community conditions affecting social welfare in rural communities. Rural churches must consider such questions as tenantry, good roads, marketing, and rural health, as these have a direct effect upon the religious life of the community. This effect is briefly stated, and suggestions made of ways in which the church can help solve these problems.

While the ideal rural community does not exist, it is well for us to have such an ideal. Dr. Earp has very briefly stated the factors which enter into the making of such a community. In most cases the church must assume leadership, and for this reason he states the social creed to which the rural ministry must subscribe. The book in the hands of an earnest worker will serve as an excellent handbook for study classes in rural problems.

C. J. HEWITT.

Northwestern University.

From Slave to Citizen. By CHARLES M. MELDEN, Ph.D., President of New Orleans College. Pp. 272. The Methodist Book Concern.

THIS is a good book—a strong, sensible, fine-tempered discussion of the Negro problem. It springs out of the devoted service of the writer as an educator in Clark University and in New Orleans College, to which tasks President Melden went from his pastorate in the New England Conference sixteen years ago. He has had notable success in the South and has the confidence of whites and blacks.

Slavery is given brief notice and not in harrowing detail. It is referred to, not to arouse resentment or shame among slavery's haters or defenders, but to locate the social soil out of which existing poisonous growths have come, to show the damage done the Negro's brain, conscience, and conduct by his ancient experience. And political and social conditions of to-day are described not bitterly but earnestly. "Abuses are uncovered that they may be remedied" and with less severity and the same candor that Southern writers have shown in discussing the same themes.

To deny that there is a Negro problem, to grant by decree but not in fact the right of suffrage, to wildly assert that the American Negro is on a toboggan slide, skidding down to death and that therefore the so-called problem will vanish, to suggest "deportation," which is not only physically impossible but actually unwelcome to both the Negro and his white neighbor—all these the author catalogues as "by-ways" which lead to no goal. The "highway" to a solution is in statesmanship, philanthropy, religion, and education.

There are serious obstacles in the path of progress. Social and legal discrimination, disfranchisement, and mob law are denials of justice. "Social equality" does not mean social intimacy. It never does. Men always claim the right to select their own intimates. And as a matter of fact the Negro is as anxious for the preservation of his racial integrity as

the white is for his, and he is not anxious to thrust himself upon the white man's society. It is quite possible for two people to be equal in social rights and yet separate. Those who are not socially intimate with us are nevertheless entitled to political freedom, decent schools, decent transportation facilities, and commercial justice.

There are some encouraging facts. There is a new emphasis upon the humanity of the Negro whose human glories are not darkened by his skin, a new interest in his education, and new State provisions for it. The "exodus" of a third of a million Negroes to the uncongenial North is interpreted as a silent protest against Southern conditions, and there is a new purpose on the part of the South to stop this migration in the interests of Negroes and white men. The white people are proposing "good treatment and the protection of the laws" and suggesting "increased wages and the selling of goods almost at cost." The proposals are the admissions of the unfairness of prevailing conditions.

The great progress in Negro education, the advance in Negro wealth, the growth of the Negro's devotion to home, school, state and church, his attainments in literature and art, his record in war—these are passed in swift review. The men who held a French trench for one hundred and ninety-one days and were raided every night, who, through the magnanimity of the French and in recognition of their own extraordinary heroism, were made the first unit of Allied fighters to reach the Rhine, who went down as an advance guard of the French army of occupation —these men should never be regarded as suppliants for favors but as candidates for rights.

In his "possible modus vivendi" with which he closes his book, President Melden pleads for strict racial integrity for the Negro, notices the present tendency to segregation—a tendency helped on by white pressure and even more by Negro taste, and asks if the Negro may not prove sufficient unto himself and find among his own people the field he needs for his own growth. And this is his faith concerning his black brother: "He will come to his own and at last be established in his rights as a citizen of the United States, as a man and as a child of God."

Be it ours to give the Negro the justice one hour of which, according to a Mohammedan proverb, is worth seventy years of prayer, and the brotherly love which is his inheritance and our law from the Son of Man.

WALLACE MACMULLEN.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

The Outline of History. Being a Plain History of Life and Mankind. By H. G. WELLS. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. xix+648; x+676. New York: The Macmillian Company. Price, $10.50.

IN 1915 a brilliant satire was published bearing the curious title, Boon: The Mind of the Race, the Wild Asses of the Devil and the Last Trump. Wells has just acknowledged his own authorship of this volume, which appeared over the name of Reginald Bliss. It had an introduction

by Wells in which he referred to himself as "a writer whose reputation is already too crowded and confused and who is for the ordinary purposes of every day known mainly as a novelist." There is no limit to his unique versatility and fecundity. To his remarkable achievements as novelist, essayist, journalist, he now adds that of a world historian. These two large volumes pass in review the course of life, beginning with the fire mist and ending with post-war settlements by fatigued nations. The unity and perspective of history obtain recognition in this vivid description of the whole movement of human life. There is no mark of dullness at any point, and the interest of the reader is sustained to the end. Wearisome and irrelevant details are advisedly omitted, but none of the memorable events of world history are disregarded. The clear summaries are not the least valuable portions of this masterly sketch.

Wells had the advice and editorial help of such eminent men as Ernest Barker, Sir H. H. Johnston, Sir E. Ray Lankester, and Professor Gilbert Murray. Their criticisms and his rejoinders are placed in the footnotes, so that he alone is responsible for this work, which has a unity of presentation not found in volumes written by collaborators. Its encyclopedic range and historical accuracy are acknowledged by men expert in their several departments. The pedant, who often strains out the gnat and swallows the camel, may detect what he would characterize as sins of omission and commission. But when it is remembered that this history is addressed to a cosmopolitan class of readers, we can appreciate how successfully Wells has avoided purely controversial matter and how forcibly he has made out a clear case for the slow development of our race, which has now reached a position from which it can take stock of its present acquisitions, with a view to the next necessary advances towards the City of God.

Certain reflections growing out of this panoramic survey are not flattering to our much vaunted progress, but Wells is too good a historian to yield to the captious and pessimistic spirit of such a writer as Dean Inge in his Outspoken Essays. "Our world to-day is only in the beginning of knowledge." "We have tamed and bred the beasts, but we have still to tame and breed ourselves." "Civilization is so new a thing in history, and has been for most of the time so very local a thing, that it has still to conquer and assimilate most of our instincts to its needs. In most of us, irked by its conventions and complexities, there stirs the nomad strain. We are but half-hearted home-keepers. The blood in our veins was brewed on the steppes as well as on the ploughlands." These are the sentiments of a pioneer rather than of a pessimist. The modern unrest which he chronicles is regarded by him as a refusal on the part of mankind to drift on in the old directions. The unrest is a sign of hope that is disturbing the world. This fact is clearly brought out in the last chapter on "The Possible Unification of the World into One Community of Knowledge and Will." The last paragraph must be quoted: "History is and must always be no more than an account of beginnings. We can venture to prophesy that the next chapters to be written will tell, though perhaps with long interludes of setback and disaster, of the

final achievement of world-wide political and social unity. But when that is attained, it will mean no resting stage, not even a breathing stage, before the development of a new struggle and of new and vaster efforts. Men will unify only to intensify the search for knowledge and power, and live as ever for new occasions. Animal and vegetable life, the obscure processes of psychology, the intimate structure of matter and the interior of our earth, will yield their secrets and endow their conqueror. Life begins perpetually. Gathered together at last under the leadership of man, the student-teacher of the universe, unified, disciplined, armed with the secret powers of the atom, and with knowledge as yet beyond dreaming, life, forever dying to be born afresh, forever young and eager, will presently stand upon this earth as upon a footstool, and stretch out its realm amid the stars." The vitalism of Bergson, the activism of Eucken, and the personalism of Bowne will surely play a part in the higher evolution of the human race toward the sublimities of perfection, as we believe, in Jesus Christ.

The serious purpose which moves this new historian is in evidence on every page. He furnishes many corroborations of the Providential Presence of the Power ever making for righteousness and truth. His social passion is free from cynicism, so well defined by Wells, in Boon, as "humor in ill health." He recognizes that the historian must be free to record the historical facts and the appearance of great constructive ideas. It is not his business to controvert or explain these matters in the interest of any theory, and so he must be free from prejudices and sensibilities, which far too often have vitiated the pages of professional historians. Gibbon is a striking illustration of this perversion. Objection will no doubt be taken to Wells's conception of Jesus Christ. We hold that he is much more than a teacher and that the secret of his perennial influence is due to the fact of his Saviourhood through the sacrifice on the Cross. We part company with Wells at this vital point, but we cannot forget how he repeatedly emphasizes that the humanitarian results of the last two thousand years are due to the pervasive power of the Spirit of Christ. "Christianity has been denounced by modern writers as a 'slave religion.' It was. It took the slaves and the downtrodden, and it gave them hope and restored their self-respect, so that they stood up for righteousness like men and faced persecution and torment." "The church and the Christian missionary may not have intended to spread equalitarian doctrines, but behind the church was the unconquerable personality of Jesus of Nazareth, and even in spite of himself the Christian preacher brought the seeds of freedom and responsibility with him, and sooner or later they shot up where he had been." It is of no small significance that this comprehensive and sagacious study of the general processes of social change, the growth of human ideas, and the elaboration of human relationships should acknowledge Christianity as being the most strategic and dynamic force operating for the welfare of the nations.

The reputation of many a notable figure is shattered by the searching examination of their personal qualities and achievements, in the light

of the larger context and perspective of history. Philip of Macedon, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Constantine, Jenghis Khan, the Emperor Charles, Napoleon, and many others are shorn of their traditional halo. Movements, regarded as of unusual import by those who thought the cackle of their bourg the murmur of the world, are estimated by the scale of universal history and given a wholesome setting. Provincialism everywhere receives a telling blow. This is as it should be, since we are entering upon an era of internationalism, when political education and the study of the history of the world as a whole are among our most imperative needs. The student of comparative religion, of sociology, of jurisprudence, of philology, of church history, of democracy, and indeed of every subject touching human activity, will find much of value in these lucid and stimulating chapters. A whole volume on the question of Christian Reunion is condensed into a single sentence. "Religious cults and priesthoods are sectarian by nature; they will convert, they will overcome, but they will never coalesce." This was true in the days of ancient Sumer as it is in these present times of the Lambeth proposals. The ecclesiastical mind is *semper eadem*. We are not surprised that theological debates and ecclesiastical controversies, which invariably moved in a circle, are held up to scorn, because they have obstinately interrupted the steady progress of the human spirit toward more worthy consolidations. Wells discusses the three types of mind prevalent among the white race. They are clear-headed criticism, moral fervor and monotheism, and the tradition of mysteries and sacrifices. We must reckon with all three if we are to secure the advantageous practice of Christian Catholicism.

We are familiar with what Wells wrote on the war. It was he more than the leaders of religion who showed us the religious significance of this conflict. While they were pessimistic, he read the signs of the times in a spirit that was unafraid and hopeful. His conclusion that it was a "hopelessly professional war" is now generally accepted. Those who desire to have a most impressive proof of it should read Sir Ian Hamilton's Gallipoli Diary, in two volumes. Whether we agree or disagree with Wells, his history is a timely contribution to the more adequate understanding of the vital principles of brotherhood, so thoroughly promulgated by our Lord and Saviour, so evasively treated by many of his professed followers, but so imperatively indispensable, if we are to draw together men of alien races and differing traditions, and inspire them with intelligent and consistent devotion to God's commonweal, for the sake of the service of humanity. OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

Letters of Principal James Denney to W. Robertson Nicoll, 1893-1917. 8vo, pp. xliii+270. New York: Hodder and Stoughton. Price, $2.50, net.

THOSE who are familiar with the writings of Professor Denney will be glad to read these letters. The depths of his convictions, his passionate consecration to Christ, and his intense interest in the ministry of the gospel are impressively revealed in these informal and extemporaneous

pages. He wielded a ready pen because he had a full mind, and yet it is unusual for men to write letters with such thoroughness. The range of his learning, his lucid style and incisive judgment are seen in his books, but these letters help us to understand how exacting he was with himself and that his articles and books were the result of the most careful investigation and thought. He sternly resisted the temptation to rush into print with superficial contributions, and he was severely intolerant of slovenliness, looseness, and short-cuts. These are evils against which preachers should be constantly on guard. They will find no better tonic than these letters.

Many of them delightfully remind us of books that appeared in recent years. It is refreshing to compare Dr. Denney's trenchant estimates with one's own conclusions, and to reread several of these books, which hold an honored place on our shelves. His notes on books also suggest some of their most desirable qualities. We generally look for such guidance to magazine reviews, but it is often inadequate, and publishers' circulars are invariably "puffs" without any discernment. Referring to the American reviews of one of his books, he wrote, "Almost all of them quoted from your articles. Although I say it who should not, the quotations were almost the only intelligent things the reviews contained. I never saw such stuff. I do not say so because they were unfriendly; on the contrary, they were meant to be commendatory and even laudatory in the extreme; but three fourths of them were written by people who had not the glimmering of an idea of what the book was about, and who evidently were total strangers to the situation to which it was addressed." In the same letter, written from Canada, he adds, "Ministers' libraries are positively startling. I have seen several in which there was literally nothing but dead matter."

Dr. Denney's criticisms of British and American books reveal his own high standards, and we quote a few sentences without mentioning the authors. Of one book, he says, "The combination of effervescence and logic, or rather of effervescence and what is meant to be but is not logic, is not very attractive to me. But it is delightful in these times to meet a man who can write about Saint Paul with enthusiasm, who believes that the apostle had a gospel, and who rejoices himself to preach the same." Of another, "He has a fair acquaintance with critical opinions on the Gospels, but he has not so much as begun to think." Another "will be a seductive and impressive book to many, but he seems to me always just to stop short of what is most vital in the New Testament conception of Christianity." "I have never read so screamy a book as ———. The man should be sentenced to read nothing but Horace for six months; it is a pity so right-hearted a person should be lost for want of knowledge and of self-control." "——— has nearly killed me, and though it is impossible not to admire his learning and industry, it is impossible also not to feel what unattractive things learning and industry may be." Of another book by the same author, he says, "Surely no man ever had a mind so full of facts and so void of ideas." "——— is an eminent example of a man so full of his own mind that he sees little in the

Gospels but what he brings, and therefore not only misses what is there, but finds a great deal which isn't." Of the writers of a volume of essays, "What they all want is a really serious study of New Testament exegesis. It is too ridiculous for men to write about the Christian religion from a great university, when they really could not pass a good examination on the apostolic texts." What impresses one about these notices is not that they are unfavorable but pregnantly suggestive. Many books are also praised. One is characterized as "very good, conscientious, thorough, and well balanced." "I like ——— more than ever, not because he is more lucid or consecutive, but because he really strikes sparks from his own anvil." "The book of which I inclose a notice is one of the best of the kind which I have seen for a long time." "For those who can digest this kind of matter, it is a very appetizing book, and the more you know of the people he writes about, the more highly you think of it."

It is a liberal education to read these judgments of a cultured and unprovincial mind, ever insisting on the need for precise and reliable scholarship. He was anything but captious, and even when he showed "impatience of all tangled and confused thinking," he never descended to uncharitable verdicts. For Dr. Denney was the soul of honor and generosity. His letters introducing unknown authors testify to his readiness to go out of the way to encourage worthy workers. As Dr. Robertson Nicoll writes: "He was one of the most unworldly, unselfish, retiring of men, and was in a manner forced to the front. To me he was the truest, the warmest, and the tenderest of friends." One of his students, Professor J. A. Robertson, declares, "One thing more—besides bequeathing something of his spirit of precision—he certainly did for us: He made the New Testament the most *real* of all books to us, the record not of a dream world apart from life, but of the highest human experience." In his ripest book, Jesus and the Gospel, Dr. Denney said, "The New Testament taken as a whole represents the most astonishing outburst of intellectual and spiritual energy in the history of our race." In one of his early letters, he wrote, "I don't believe that the Christian religion—let alone the Church—can live unless we can be sure of (1) a real being of God in Christ; (2) the atoning death; (3) the exaltation of Christ." This was the burden of his message, and how it was developed and expounded in his numerous writings we learn from these letters to the man who had more to do than any other in making Dr. Denney an author, and to both of whom we are indebted for the rare enrichment of theological literature.

His work as a writer was only one side of his ministry. His influence as a teacher is described with filial reverence in the chapter on "Memories of a Student," and all who came under his spell in the classroom will readily indorse these sentiments of Professor Robertson. This great teacher in a moment of confidence wrote, "Though it is my business to teach, the one thing I covet is to be able to do the work of an evangelist, and that at all events is the work that needs to be done." By evangelist he meant a herald of the love of God in Christ, who would interpret and apply this message after the most intense study and thought. There

is indeed nothing more urgent than for men to give themselves to this taxing labor in order that their hearers may be led to see where they stand and what they should do in respect of the Christian Gospel. He once heard a well-known political speaker, of whom he wrote, "He spoke like a man who was happy in having an excellent case, not like a man with a cause." Dr. Denney knew he had a cause, and whether it was in his books, lectures, or sermons, or in his advocacy of the sustentation fund or temperance, he always bore himself with the dignity of a minister of Jesus Christ. For that reason we do not concern ourselves with his limitations, of which there is abundant evidence in this volume. We are more interested in the positive teaching and definite message and are grateful to have these letters for repeated perusal. It is to be regretted that at least a few of the letters of Dr. Robertson Nicoll were not published in this volume, for many of Dr. Denney's letters were replies to what his friend wrote. In their present form it is like speaking over the phone without hearing what the receiver is saying. We know from the Claudius Clear letters in The British Weekly what to expect from Dr. Robertson Nicoll, and some day when his personal letters are published, the volume will be one of unsurpassed value to preachers, professors, and editors. We also hope that a life of Principal Denney will soon be published containing more of his letters, for his correspondence must have been quite extensive.

The History of the A. E. F. By SHIPLEY THOMAS. With maps, diagrams, and illustrations. 8vo, pp. 540. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $5, net.

WHO can ever forget the wonderful heroism of the American Doughboys? Many monographs have appeared on various phases of their redoubtable achievements, but in this volume there is a complete historical account of the activities of all the divisions, from the day America declared war upon Germany, on Good Friday of 1917, up to the time that victory was finally wrested. The author has had access to invaluable documents, and he further writes from a first-hand knowledge of the horrors and honors of the war. During his service he acquitted himself with gallantry and devotion in all the engagements of his regiment. As a historian of the American Expeditionary Forces he has given proof of exceptional qualifications. It was a herculean task to collect and correlate the extensive material; and those who can speak with authority testify to the reliability of this story.

It was inevitable that a large amount of space should be given to questions of organization of a technical character, but the larger part of the volume cannot fail to interest the American public. Justice is done to all concerned and this recital reflects credit to our Republic in responding, when it did, with a heartiness, intrepidity, and resourcefulness which amazed our Allies and staggered our enemies. The terrific tension during the months of waiting between the close of the Montdidier-Noyon defensive and the beginning of the Champagne-Marne defensive, June 15 to

July, 1918; the wonderful display of the four companies of Pennsylvanians in the second battle of the Marne; the courage of the Thirty-eighth infantry as seen in the message of Major Rowe: "Am holding the line, and could do so indefinitely"; the enthusiastic cooperation with the Allies and the steadiness and calmness which so profoundly impressed the French; the cheerful, good-natured, and buoyant boys who were homesick, lonely, and complaining, but always ready to take risks and showing a noble carriage in spite of privations; the gallant record of heroism and hardship of the several divisions during the defensives and offensives; the unwavering confidence that the German line could be broken; the tragic casualties; the spirit that was put into the Allies, when the mud had entered into their souls and they were weary unto death with the dismayed prospect of a German march into Paris and the defeat of civilization—all this and much more are recounted in these stirring chapters. The detailed references to Château-Thierry, St. Mihiel, the Argonne, Blanc Mont, the Marne, Belleau Wood will be read with deep interest, as these names are fragrant to the memory of stalwart souls. The chapters on "Auxiliary Arms," "The Services of Supply," and "Division Histories" will specially appeal to different classes of readers. Those who desire to witness the scenes of the more important battles will find suggestive information in the chapter on "A Visitor's Guide to the Western Front."

A few sentences from the concluding survey are worth quoting. "Thus, on November 11, the greatest series of military achievements of the United States came to a close. With but few intervals, American troops had been in the line almost continuously since October 20, 1917. With the taking of Cantigny on May 28, 1918 (1917 is a misprint here and on page 72), began a long series of battles which increased in size and importance until, on the eve of the armistice, when practically all of the twenty-nine combat divisions were moving forward in one attack. The purpose of this was the capture of the German fortress of Metz, and the outcome was never for a moment in doubt. Germany, realizing that she was defeated, signed a most humiliating armistice rather than suffer defeat before the eyes of the world. But four months before, the German army had been almost at the gates of Paris. The bitter fighting which marked the four concluding months of the war can never be adequately described. The heroism and self-sacrificing devotion to duty of everyone in the Allied Armies alone made the result possible. There lie in the fields of France, Belgium, and Italy thousands of dead who bear mute testimony to the heat of the struggle. The infantry, artillery, and troops of other arms won in that one gigantic battle from the North Sea to Palestine, from Paris to Metz and Mons, the victory of the ages, and the record of their deeds will brighten through the years. Truly it was an infantry battle, for to the infantry fell the lion's share of the casualties, the heartbreaking marches, and the terrible suffering. But with them suffered also the patient, efficient field artillery, and all the units of the combat divisions. However, the stoic heroism of the combat divisions would have been of no avail, had not the Auxiliary Arms and the marvelously efficient services

of supply supported their every need" (page 375). For specific illustrations the reader is referred to this sumptuous volume which will continue to be one of the standard authorities, telling of the participation of American forces on European soil to secure victory over Germany for the benefit of the whole world. That benefit must surely be reaped in the near future on a scale commensurate with the enormous sacrifices.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Moments of Devotion. By BRUCE S. WRIGHT. (The Abingdon Press. Price, 75 cents.) Fifty devotional meditations culminating in a brief petition make this an excellent handbook for the morning watch. Every Christian should accumulate a devotional library, and this will be a valuable addition.

Life and Letters of Paul. By THOMAS CARTER, D.D. (Smith & Lamar.) A very serviceable textbook for classes in Bible study, on the life, teachings, and work of the *doctor doctorum* of early Christianity. It very properly stresses the Pauline conception of the mystical union with Christ as the very heart of Christian faith and practice.

Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss. Edited and supplemented by his Eldest Son (Revell, $2.25). What Dr. Hamlin was to Robert College, Constantinople, that Dr. Bliss was to the Syrian Protestant College, Beirût. Its graduates are found in Russia, the Sudan, Egypt, the Philippines, and throughout the Turkish Empire. Rustan Pasha, one of the governor-generals of the province of Mount Lebanon, once said to Dr. Bliss: "I do not know how much mathematics or how much history, philosophy, or science you teach at the Syrian Protestant College, but I do know this, that you make *men*, and that is the important thing. And I wish I had one of your graduates to put in every office in my province. I would then have a far better government than I have now." Dr. Bliss was the founder and developer of this notable university, thirty-six years its president, fourteen years president emeritus, when one of his sons, the late Howard S. Bliss, was president. His autobiography is of the greatest value to all interested in the extension of the Kingdom of God in the Near East.

A Philosophy of Play. By LUTHER HALSEY GULICK, M.D. (Association Press, $1.60). No subject needs to be better understood than that which is sensibly dealt with in this volume. The play instinct is common to mankind, young and old; but not always has it been wisely developed and directed. More has been said about repression and restriction than expression and exhibition. "Character is made predominantly during leisure hours." The bearing of recreation on conduct and the relation of hygiene to holiness are well brought out in this wise book.

A Greatheart of the South. John T. Anderson, Medical Missionary. By GORDON POTEAT (Doran, $1.50). This biography of a valiant soldier

of the Cross, whose career was suddenly ended through accidental drowning in the Yang Tze river, recalls the life of Dr. Arthur Jackson of Manchuria, who literally sacrificed his life to save thousands of plague-stricken coolies. Dr. Anderson was one of the most winsome personalities of the Student Volunteer Movement in North America. His work among the Colleges of Kentucky and the Carolinas is enthusiastically described by a kindred spirit. He went to China in 1916 and in the second year of his overburdened labors in the hospital at Yang Chow, he met with his untimely end. This memorial volume should stimulate many on behalf of foreign missions.

Quiet Talks about Life after Death. By S. D. GORDON (Revell, $1.25). Clear, forceful, persuasive, in harmony with the whole teaching of the Bible, these chapters bring comfort, utter warning, and summon to immediate surrender to God, in view of the ceaseless tragedy of death and the life of bliss beyond for those in Christ. Many questions troubling people are here answered with intelligence and convincingness, in the calmly reasonable manner familiar to all readers of Gordon's books.

The Case Against Spiritualism. By JANE T. STODDART (Hodder and Stoughton, $1.50). *Spiritualism. A Personal Experience and a Warning.* By COULSON KERNAHAN (Revell, 60 cents). One of the most serious charges against spiritualism is that the name of Jesus is hardly ever mentioned by those who profess to bridge the gulf between the present and the future. Kernahan's booklet touches the central weakness of this modern superstition, so incredible in an age of science. His conclusion is that, "spiritualism vulgarizes that which is holy, while adding to our knowledge no single word of real help or worth." Miss Stoddart's volume is a more detailed examination of the extensive literature on the subject. It was inevitable to mention learned names and to quote from many writers. The result is a readable and practical manual which offers guidance to the perplexed, who are tempted to dabble in things beyond their depth, only to find themselves in wandering mazes lost.

Songs of Life. Edited by CARL F. PRICE. (Abingdon Press. Price, 50 cents.) Professor George A. Coe, in his work, The Spiritual Life, p. 219ff, acutely criticizes Hymnology from the psychological standpoint. His analysis shows that the emotional and introspective sides of the religious life are predominantly expressed in the songs of the sanctuary, with but slight lyrical expression of practical activities. That criticism, which was wholly just as to the Hymnal which he analyzed, is rather less applicable to the present Methodist Hymnal and is fully answered by this delightful song-book, edited by Professor Price, which is at once Christian, modern, and musical. It is a testimony to the transformation which the Centenary movement has worked in our church life. To throw out from our social devotional meetings the rag-time and doggerels which now debase them and introduce a singing book like this, would mean to many churches a new awakening of real spirituality, and a noble stimulus in the outward activities of the church. Those who absorb the spirit of these songs will

no longer be self-centered religionists but world-Christians who live and work in a Kingdom climate.

The Case of Korea. By HENRY CHUNG. (F. H. Revell and Co. Price, $3.) The tragedy of the hermit nation, the dangerous domination of Japan, and the movement toward Korean independence are set forth in this volume with trustworthy statement of historic facts. Surely Japan owes it to the world to explain and owes it to Korea to carry out its pledge of the independence and territorial integrity of Korea, made many times in solemn treaties. Mr. Chung pays high tribute to the high character and diplomatic ability of Bishop Herbert Welch, of Seoul, commanding both the confidence of the Koreans and the respect of Japanese officials.

Training World Christians. By GILBERT LOVELAND. (Methodist Book Concern. Price, $1.25.) This is a handbook in missionary education, but it is also much more than that; it is a practical treatise for training the church in unselfish religious activities. It is rich in worth-while programs for a serving church. We can only put an end to the pseudo-Christianity which has lasted for centuries without realizing the Kingdom of God in social, business, and political life, by developing the larger selfhood which shares the heart-break of our Lord over lost souls and a lost world. More useful than even clever manuals of church methods is such a program as this book will furnish to any pastor who wishes at once to educate his flock both in spirituality and service. It is both inspirational and practical.

John Wesley, Jr. By DAN B. BRUMMITT. (Methodist Book Concern. Price, 75 cents.) The pastor who uses the handbook noticed above will see that the leaders of his young people's society are furnished with this "story of an experiment." It shows what a real modern minister can do in the "selective draft" of a bright Methodist boy, steering him through school, college, and in his life activities. Incidentally every form of Methodist benevolent, missionary, and educational work is featured in this charming religious romance. It is our youth whom the church can inspire to redeem "Main Street" from its sordid squalor and give the wider vision that will redeem our narrow provincialism by world service. Such problems as that of the alien, the Negro, and Latin America are woven into the story with no diminution of its narrative interest. Every Epworth League will do well to give a whole evening to the introduction of its members to this work.

The Child—Its Relation to God and the Church. By CARL F. ELTZHOLTZ. (Methodist Book Concern. Price, 50 cents.) This essay thoughtfully sets forth the religious needs and possibilities of the child, from a biblical, psychological, theological, and ecclesiastical standpoint. One of the tragedies of individualistic Protestantism has been the neglect of childhood. The world could be rescued in a single generation if the church should realize and utilize this supreme opportunity. The preacher who fails to make the child the primary and principal aim of his work is simply a slacker as a soldier of the Kingdom.

A READING COURSE

The Religions of Mankind. By EDMUND DAVISON SOPER. New York: The Abingdon Press. Price, $3.

IN the Reading Course for September, 1918, we studied Religions of the Past and Present, edited by Professor James A. Montgomery, and The Religions of the World by Professor George A. Barton. In the side reading reference was made to The Faiths of Mankind by Professor Soper. This brief manual gave promise of much ability, and it was expected that the writer would produce a larger volume on his chosen theme. Here it is—a credit to the writer and The Abingdon Press. All things considered, this is the best introduction to a study of the living religions. While Professor George F. Moore's two volumes on History of Religions are more comprehensive, yet the preacher who desires to have a working knowledge of the ethnic faiths, in their relation to Christianity, will find Soper's book meeting all his needs. The bibliography at the end of each chapter is quite select, and it is hoped that the preacher would consult the books mentioned in these lists.

Religion has always been the most absorbing study of men; but it is only in relatively recent years that adequate material in appreciable quantities has been made accessible. The discovery of the religious spirit in some of its finer forms outside Christianity at first staggered some, who thought of the non-Christian religions as anti-Christian, to be condemned and destroyed as enemies of the human race. The truly Christian attitude is scientific and sympathetic. It regards all religions as commendable struggles of the human spirit to become more experimentally cognizant of the Supreme Power on which man must ultimately depend and with which he can have communion. The Christian who appreciates other religions does not compromise his own faith but acknowledges how wonderfully it completes every form of faith. He is not a patron of religions, assuming the airs of pharisaic superiority, but the friend of all religions with a fraternal spirit courteously eager to point out wherein his own faith advances beyond the expectations and achievements of all others.

Such a view is obtained by the method of exact historical investigation, which notes the processes of development of each religion from the past down to the present, and understands the divers threads of the woof, woven to produce a web of beauty or imperfection, as the case might be. Needless to say, the investigator should be fair, impartially weighing evidence and not making any exception for examination in favor of his own cherished religion. Our conviction that Christianity is unique should make us all the more hospitable to the light found elsewhere. Rather than detract from, it will make the more excellent the pristine glory of our confidence and lead us to exalt the Name that is above every name. It is gratifying to know that Soper has undertaken his investigation with the certainty of assurance that Christianity alone is providentially capable of meeting all human needs. He is therefore keen to appraise the merits while not overlooking the demerits of the religions examined.

An interesting question, "Why do religions die?" was recently pro-

pounded for consideration by Professor J. B. Pratt in The Journal of Religion, for January. The national religions of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Rome, on which there are two chapters in Soper's volume, have gone the way of all flesh. No mention is made of the dead religions of the Teutons and Celts. Did they all die a natural death or from violence or internal decay, or were they supplanted by others with more enduring qualities? Religions have flourished, became moribund, and then passed away; others in decay were bolstered up by external influences, but they were only marking time in a state of senile stagnancy. Pratt's question is not merely academic and some of the causes are incidentally discussed by him in his volume on The Religious Consciousness. This is a practical question and material for a discussion of it is found in Soper's volume, in which he deals with the social, institutional, and national influences that weakened or strengthened the several religions. Such a comparative study of the religious spirit, in its manifold expressions, is of the most serious import to the preacher who is called upon to place Christianity in the stream of modern life, not as a barricade but as the bearer of human cargo to the City of God.

The introductory chapter on "The Nature of Religion" sets this universal fact in its historical context. In many ways this is the best part of the volume. We may think of religion as a matter of the intellect or of the emotions, and contrast its individual with its social emphasis; or we may think of it in terms of worship or of the conservation of values. Note the names of the leading exponents of these several conceptions and relate them. As a matter of fact, no single view of religion does justice to this perennial and vital function of life, and as to definitions, "the best we may do is to be always approximating a definition but never reaching it" (p. 17). What are the defects of the naturalistic explanations of religion, and why is it that we cannot assign its origin to fear or priestcraft or ancestor-worship? How is it related to the three stages of civilization and culture—tribal, national, universal; and what causes have made Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity international faiths with a missionary outlook?

It is an occasion for sober reflection that between one hundred and fifty-seven and one hundred and seventy-three millions of the world's population live in a region "where fear holds sway," because of their crude but controlling beliefs in spirits and demons. When it is further remembered that the fully developed religions emerged out of animistic cults, it becomes necessary that we should carefully study these early manifestations with their varieties and underlying similarities of faith and practice. Although primitive man believes in spirits he is not spiritual but far too materialistic. His inability to think consecutively makes his gods non-moral and the influence of his religion ethically negative (p. 63). The social and religious bearing of totemism and tabu, and the fact that ritual often precedes belief, are well discussed in the chapter on "Animistic Religion." It need not scandalize us but should summon our best thought, to be told that survivals of animism are found in Catholicism and Protestantism.

These chapters furnish good material for a comparative study of sacrifice, prayer, and magic in religious worship. Another set of subjects calling for study and meditation has to do with the conceptions of immortality, eschatology, the Trinity, atonement, salvation found in the religions of Egypt, Rome, and Greece and the mystery cults of the Orient, as well as the doctrines of transmigration in Hinduism, Karma in Buddhism, strenuous morality in Zoroastrianism, ancestor worship in China, Bushido in Japan. What have these ideas to contribute to Christianity, and how might they be modified or supplanted by Christianity in the interest of a complete redemption of human life? We are surely on the threshold of larger consolidations made imperative by the extraordinary results of Christian missions and by the humiliating and ennobling revelations of the world war. Professor Moore pungently states that "the Egyptians of later ages could learn but not forget—the most fatal of all disqualifications for progress" (Vol. I, 148). Are we justified in saying the same of modern Christians; if so, how might the more healthy attitude be cultivated? What shall we do with those who never forget and never learn?

This is a good place to refer to the last chapter on "Christianity." Our faith is rightly distinguished from others as being preeminently the religion of a Person, who exemplified in himself all the moral excellencies and spiritual perfections of his own doctrine (p. 133). The same cannot be said of Mithraism, the powerful rival of early Christianity, nor of what Principal A. M. Fairbairn characterized as "founded religions and their founders." There are many pregnant observations in this historical summary of the rise and progress of Christianity, emphasizing the outstanding merits and shortcomings of the respective interpretations and applications of the Christian message. In what way did the Reformation test of orthodoxy overlook the distinctive factor of Christianity, which is an immediate experience of communion with God through Christ? (p. 319). Why was early Protestantism slow in responding to the missionary impulse of the Gospel? Note what is said of the adequate basis of the appeal of Christianity to present day needs by reason of its personal, social, and universal notes (p. 328).

We go back to the earlier chapters not to deal with them separately, but to state that each of the religions is expounded with such sufficient fullness as to give the reader an intelligent understanding of its particular contribution to human welfare. In every case the discussions are brought up to date and reference is made to the energetic modern reform movements in Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shintoism, Judaism, and Mohammedanism. But at best these are frantic attempts to revive a dying light by accommodations to modern thought and life, due in large measure to contact with Christianity. The frequent exhortation to go back to the original sources, the admirable efforts to separate the chaff from the wheat, the imitation of Christian methods of propaganda, are really confessions of inability to encounter the rising tide of discontent and unrest among the adherents of these religions.

It is no disparagement of any of them to declare that Jesus Christ is the only hope for all peoples. We should, moreover, not overlook or ignore the present crisis in Christianity. When we meet the situation calling for adjustment, it should be possible to disengage the eternal from its temporary accretions which cling like barnacles. When we further learn to use the instruments placed in our hands by science, criticism, psychology, comparative religion, and other departments of learning and practice, we shall go forward to make yet larger conquests of the mind, spirit, and will of mankind, that in all things Jesus Christ might have the preeminence.

SIDE READING

Freedom and Advance. By OSCAR L. JOSEPH. (Macmillan, $1.75.) I venture to refer to Chapter X on "Comparative Religion" for much that could not be stated in this department for want of space.

Is Christianity the Final Religion? By A. C. BOUQUET. (Macmillan, $4.) The problems raised by comparative religion are discussed in this volume with a comprehensive outlook. What were regarded as essentials by Christians of the middle of the last century have not ceased to be such although there are radical departures in externals. The practical difficulties raised by the progress of thought are serious, but they cannot detract from the unique excellence of Christianity, which Bouquet declares has not yet been superseded, nor are there indications that it ever will be, although the need for new formulations must arise from time to time. It is not necessary to agree with everything, to commend this very timely book which can be read with great advantage as a supplement to Soper's volume. (Reviewed by Dr. Soper in this number of the REVIEW.)

For any information about books on subjects of interest to preachers, address this department, *Reading Course*, care of the METHODIST REVIEW, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

WHO'S WHO IN THE REVIEW

ELMER RILEY DILLE, D.D., for forty years a distinguished leader of California Methodism, now retired from active service, at his Golden Jubilee, September, 1920, was made Pastor Emeritus of First Church, Oakland, Cal., of which he had been fifteen years pastor.

HARRY F. WARD is Professor of Christian Ethics in Union Theological Seminary, New York City, General Secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service and author of The Social Creed of the Churches, The New Social Order, etc. He is widely known as an apostle of social justice.

DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D., Ph.D., who received 201 votes for Bishop in 1908, is now pastor at Westbury, Long Island, and author of The Sovereign People and other works.

KING D. BEACH, D.D., is successfully ministering to the First Meth-

odist Episcopal Church, Grand Rapids, Mich., the Cathedral Church of the Michigan Conference.

The Rev. J. A. SCHAAD is rector of the Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, Bay City, Mich.

GEORGE PRESTON MAINS, D.D., former Publishing Agent of The Methodist Book Concern, author of Modern Thought and Traditional Faith and other books, still usefully serves the church as Treasurer of the Episcopal Fund.

Dr. BERTRAND MARTIN TIPPLE, the head of our Methodista Collegio in Rome, Italy, and of our mission work in that fair peninsula, has been highly honored by the Italian government for distinguished service during the Great War.

Dr. JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER, in the chair of Historical Theology at Drew Seminary, author of a great new book just published, Modernism and the Christian Faith, is admirably fitted to portray Luther at the Diet of Worms, in this 400th anniversary of that event of holy heroism.

The Rev. JAMES I. BARTHOLOMEW, Methodist minister at Pawtucket, R. I., discusses a leading ecclesiastical problem from an expert standpoint gained by his membership on the Committee on Judiciary at the General Conference.

In the Arena will be found clever sword play of the intellect by DWIGHT M. LOWERY, a Philadelphia lawyer, graduate of Ohio Wesleyan University, and the Rev. HAROLD PAUL SLOAN, D.D., the Methodist pastor at Bridgeton, N. J.

GIUSEPPE PREZZOLINI is an Italian author and journalist, founder and editor of La Voci (Florence), author of Studi e Capricci, etc. About 35 years of age, he has probably done more than any one else to bring out such young writers as Papini and the novelist Verga. As politician he strongly opposes the extreme nationalists and imperialists. As correspondent for the Foreign Press Service he contributes regularly to the New York Evening Post, and we hope occasionally to the METHODIST REVIEW. Every Methodist should read his news sketch in our Foreign Outlook of a critical politico-ecclesiastical situation. Signor PREZZOLINI has an article in the *Contemporary Review*, June, 1921, on the Fascisti and the Roman Question which is an illuminating setting for this article.

Among the contributors of appreciations of current literature in the Book Notices are Dr. WALLACE MACMULLEN, District Superintendent of the New York District, Professors HEWITT and SOPER of Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

METHODIST REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1921

DANTE AND HIS CENTURY

LYNN HAROLD HOUGH, Th.D., D.D.

Detroit, Mich.

MR. H. G. WELLS in his brilliant Outline of History refers to Dante once, and that reference is in a footnote. There may be two reasons for this scant consideration of the great Italian. In the first place Mr. Wells despises mysticism and all its works. He does not believe in a light "never seen on sea or land." He spends all his time discussing the kinds of lights and shadows which have been seen on various seas and lands. He has the urbane and conclusive clarity of the man who mistakes his own color blindness for intellectual emancipation. So the mystic poet of the Inferno, the Purgatorio, and the Paradiso simply does not come within his ken. In the second place he probably does not realize the significance of Dante's prose work De Monarchia in relation to the whole theory of the Holy Roman Empire and in a larger way in relation to the very idea of the unifying of the life of the world. A somewhat completer knowledge of the mediæval period would doubtless have led him to treat Dante's De Monarchia in the same way in which he refers to Augustine's De Civitate Dei. When the Outline of History is written which is characterized by ample erudition as well as alertness of mind and pungency of expression it is safe to say that Dante will have a place corresponding to his significance.

Dante Alighieri was born in Florence in the year 1265. He died in exile in the year 1321. So that really Dante belonged to two centuries and not to one. He saw the great unity of the thirteenth century. He saw the beginnings of the disintegration of

the fourteenth century. But he himself was a child of the thirteenth century. No one entered into its life more deeply, and no one interpreted it more profoundly.

The ancient period had seen the emerging of the great ideas which were to influence the world. The ancient empires had written the power of organized force deeply in the mind of man. Greece had celebrated the emancipation of the curious mind. Rome had illustrated the potency of the practical will. Israel had spoken for the illuminated conscience. The dream of beauty, the dream of order, and the dream of righteousness had claimed the imagination of mankind. And each in a measure had ceased to be a dream and had become an achievement. In Christianity there were principles capable of working out a notable synthesis of these ideas. The ideas of force and beauty and righteousness and order met in a noble harmony in the teachings of Jesus. But the reaction of the clean Christian conscience from the coarser and more physical aspects of Greek thought and the battle between the worship of the Roman Emperor and the worship of Christ produced an antagonism which hid from view this deeper unity. And the rise of monasticism gave to Christianity a form of expression based upon the renunciation of the world and not its transformation in the name of the principles of Jesus. Then the Barbarians swept in and civilization itself collapsed.

But Christianity could not after all escape its task of mastering and transforming the life of the world. The religion of Jesus did tame the Barbarians. It did preside at the founding and the building up of the civilization of Western Europe which was to be the typical civilization of the modern world. And gradually the old dreams emerged. When Charlemagne was crowned Roman Emperor in 800 A. D. the Roman dream of world order was brought into men's minds again. It was to be an order using force for noble ends. But in the mind of the Pope at least as he put the crown upon the head of the great Frankish king it was to be an order bent to the purposes of the Holy Catholic Church.

So the fundamental ideas of the Middle Ages began to take form. The world was one world. Its political head was the Emperor. Its religious head was the Pope. Together they were to

maintain the peace and harmony and right thinking and right living of mankind. A conflict was inevitable. The two heads of the world did not happily adjust themselves to each other. Strong emperors dominated weak popes. Strong popes dominated weak emperors. And when a strong pope and a strong emperor met they fought for supremacy. In the eleventh century we see Hildebrand and Henry IV in conflict. In the thirteenth century we watch the struggle between a series of popes and Frederick II. The dream of unity is disrupting the life of the world. This struggle between popes and emperors related itself in all sorts of ways to the life of the eleventh and twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In Italy by a process we need not stop to analyze the followers of the Papal party came to be called Guelfs and the followers of the Imperial party came to be called Ghibellines. The thirteenth century saw such an achievement of unity based upon the life of the church as Europe had not known before and was not to know again. Innocent III represents the consummate achievement of Papal supremacy. In the same period the intellectual life of the church comes to full flower in that great masterpiece, the Summa of Thomas Aquinas. And in the same wonderful time the piety of the church finds its most noble and appealing expression in the life and influence of Saint Francis of Assisi. The spirit of the time found memorable and exquisite expression in the aspiring grandeur of Gothic architecture. No wonder that to this day Roman Catholics are inclined to call the thirteenth the most wonderful of centuries. It was their Augustan age. And it is interesting that a certain type of decadent American intellectual has looked back wistfully to this very time. Henry Adams wrote Mont Saint Michel and Chartres as a study in thirteenth-century unity even as the Education of Henry Adams was a study of twentieth-century multiplicity.

Amid the break-up of these thirteenth-century unities Dante lived and wrote. He interpreted them with exquisite beauty. And he had his own dream of unity to express. It is not too much to say that in him the organic tendencies of the mind of the middle ages found supreme expression. Let us now look at the man and his activities and his thoughts and dreams.

I. The Man. Nature and environment and heredity did much for Dante. His family and its traditions gave him access to the best his city offered. That city was itself a mother of his mind and spirit. The bitterest words Dante writes of Florence in his days of exile have the terrible pain which only comes when love itself has become tragic wrath. From no other city would Dante accept the poet's crown. Florence was in his heart even when he could not walk upon its streets. And the eager youth who lived his boyhood in this wonderful town possessed a nature of the most delicate and sympathetic responsiveness to every suggestion. He was an artist in the very fiber of him. He was a poet with all the palpitating wonder of a poet's fancies. He was a student and he became a man of the profoundest erudition. His mind became a mirror in which the intellectual life of a thousand years saw itself reflected. He had an inner gentleness all full of winsome charm. He had a stern strength and under the weight of exile and suffering his very face took on an expression full of dark mystery. You could believe as you looked upon him that he had been in hell. He had fierce and bewildering struggles in his own spirit and with hostile circumstance. More and more he was victorious within even as he was defeated without. If he could not control events he could become a man of towering spiritual grandeur in spite of events. He had that lonely splendor of spirit which comes to a man who climbs heights of thought rarely attained, and plumbs depths of experience whose meaning men rarely dare to face. He was so many sided that it is easy to see one part of his life and fancy that one has understood him. The tradition of Dante suggests an appearance of abysmal gloom. But the reader of his great masterpiece observes how often he describes the coming of a smile upon the face of the one who is leading Dante. And the consummation of all his thought is that triumph of love whose music is the final victory of goodness in the world. He was proud. He could be scornful. He knew how to hate. He had a confidence in his own powers which only the most consummate genius could justify. But he also had a remorseless moral honesty. He does not spare himself as he describes the forces of moral discipline. And he bent beneath the lash of his own fiercely candid

speech. He knew the wonder of forgiveness as a personal experience, and there were great depths of humility under all his pride.

II. The Poet. Dante belonged to a group of artistic young intellectuals who aspired to give finely beautiful expression to their thoughts. The wonderfully delicate and sweet love songs of Southern France had come into Italy and such songs as these Dante wrote with wonderful grace and charm. But it is to be observed that in him the love song moved toward a high and stainless beauty which did not always characterize that type of singing. Such verse may be the flower of something lower or the symbol of something higher. To Dante the summons of gracious and impalpable ideals more and more expresses itself in poetry which moved from the fair form up to the sense of invisible goodness and wisdom. He had a sense of the melody and music of his own tongue which was something new in Italy. And it may almost be said that he gave a new and wonderful language to Europe. What Luther did at a later time for German Dante did for the Italian speech. It is a matter of the utmost significance that this scholar chose his own tongue instead of the universal Latin as the vehicle for his writing. Had his great poem been written in Latin it would have spoken to a worldwide aristocracy of scholars. As it was written in his native tongue it had a democratic appeal which made it an element in the creation of Italy. For in the "Divine Comedy" Italy is not indeed a geographical expression. It is a spiritual reality.

The "Divina Commedia" is the consummate achievement of the genius of Dante. "The Bishop of Ripon, Boyd Carpenter, says diffidently as becomes a man who speaks with authority, that although Dante is not the greatest poet, yet the 'Divine Comedy' is the greatest poem we possess." (Henry Dwight Sedgwick, Dante.) Dr. George Santayana declares in his stimulating volume, Three Philosophical Poets: "Here then we have the most complete idealization and comprehension of things achieved by mankind hitherto. Dante is the type of a consummate poet." The "Divine Comedy" has had a most extraordinary circulation. Dr. Washington Gladden, who in his busy life found time to develop a genuine interest in Dante, informs us in the lecture on Dante

the Poet in his "Witnesses of the Light," that "The sixteenth century saw twenty-one editions of this poem; the seventeenth forty-two; the eighteenth four; . . . A historian who counted the translations in 1843 reported nineteen in Latin, twenty-four French, twenty English, twenty German, two Spanish." Men of spiritual insight have interpreted the meaning of the poem in these deeper relations, as when Bishop William Boyd Carpenter lectured at Harvard on "The Spiritual Message of Dante." There has been a real interest in the great poem and its author in America, and at last, in the Life of Dante, by Charles Allen Dinsmore, the new world has contributed a notable biography to the Dante literature.

Superficial men in a superficial age are likely to ignore the great poem. But whenever the human spirit casts deep and wistful eyes into the mystery of the meaning of its own moral and spiritual struggles there is a new interest in the "Divine Comedy." The conception of the poem is startling in its audacity. Accepting the whole theology of his period, especially as it had been expressed by Thomas Aquinas, Dante sets out to portray the journey of a living man through Hell and Purgatory and Heaven. Virgil escorts the poet through Hell and Purgatory, and his lady love, Beatrice, escorts him through Heaven. Indeed, the whole journey is an experience made possible by the glorious Beatrice, who in Heaven plans for the rescue of her erstwhile lover caught in the meshes and confusions of the world. The poem is a singular combination of poetry and mathematics. You have a detailed and systematic account of each region which suggests scientific description after measurement. The poet really sees everything he describes and this gives the description a curious vividness. It is no part of our purpose to give a detailed account of the great poem. The reader who has not yet made its acquaintance will do well to begin with Professor Alfred M. Brooks's Dante—How to Know Him, and then to get into such a translation as the melodious rendering of Longfellow. We have here very great poetry all lighted with the glowing fires of a vital imagination. The whole experience of man is laid under tribute. All the hope and fear and struggle, the goodness and the sinning of the race find typical expression somewhere in the colossal poem. It is kept human by the sure

and graphic pictures of people and things and places. It sweeps along to the momentum of exquisite music. It is ripe with the profoundest thought which had come from the mind of man up to the time when Dante lived. It is the supreme utterance of the mind of the Middle Ages. It is the complete expression of the conscience of the Middle Ages. And it pours out the very passion and pain of the spiritual aspiration of the human heart. Hell is an unflinching account of the relation between sin and punishment. And in the most marvelous way the punishment expresses, indeed grows out of the very nature of the sin. Purgatory is the tale of that discipline which cleanses the soul. And here again there is a subtle and amazing understanding of the nature of the disease of evil and the necessary aspects of that moral experience which is its cure. Heaven is a picture of realization. Here we have perfect light, perfect music, and perfect love. And the marvel of the achievement of Dante lies in the fact that he does succeed in piling glory upon glory until the perfect rose of Heaven's fulfillment blooms in all its wonder before the awed and enraptured gaze of the reader. To plan such a poem was an act of unparalleled moral and intellectual daring. To achieve such a creation is to step into the ranks of the greatest sons of earth.

III. The Statesman. The Italian cities of the Middle Ages have a place all their own in history. And Florence is typical of their splendor and of their degradation. While popes and emperors were disputing about the mastery of the world, these towns reached their own extraordinary place of conspicuous eminence. The towns themselves were torn by internal feuds and were worn by fighting each other. And all the while within their boundaries the mind of man glowed and gleamed with light and power. It was inevitable that in such a city Dante should dream of stability and unity. It was inevitable that in such a land Dante should dream of a nobler order. He had practical abilities as well as far-flung powers of mind and he came to be one of the outstanding men in the political life of the city. But the very largeness of his views and his very honesty and impartiality were against him at last. In his absence upon most important political business he was exiled. He never saw Florence again. And in his

life as a wanderer he meditated deeply upon the whole series of problems involved in the political organization of the world. Torn and confused Italy was in his mind and his heart all the while as he carried on these profound meditations upon the structure of society. The results of all his thinking were formulated in that famous work De Monarchia. First and foremost of all he believed in the unity of the world. It was one world. And all the hideous conflicts which disintegrated its life must be brought to an end in an organization which would give it justice and peace. The one world must be the visible expression of the mastery of the kingdom of God. But the pope was not to be its secular head. Dante emerged from his profoundest thinking not a Guelf but a Ghibelline. He believed in the two swords. The pope was to carry the sword of spiritual power. The emperor was to carry the sword of secular power. And these two together were to guide the world. Dante was a fearless critic of actual popes. As we see in the Inferno he was perfectly willing to consign a pope to Hell The hope of Italy in his mind was an emperor who would deliver the country from its own dissensions and give it organization and unity and peace. The supreme disappointment of his life was the death of the emperor upon whom he had fastened all his hopes. For with that death the dream passed from the realm of history as far as practical possibility of its fulfillment was concerned. It was still an important factor in men's thinking. But it became farther and farther removed from the world of facts. It became more and more an element in that world of ideas apart from the dominant achievements of men. France was becoming a great nation. England was on the sure path of nationality. And a world of nations rather than a world of one great organization came to be the practical thought in the minds of men. The pope became practically a captive of the French king. The great dream of unity both in its papal interpretation and in its imperial interpretation collapsed.

And yet we are not able to forget Dante's interpretation of the great thought of world organization. His hatred of war, his enthusiasm for a wise and orderly life for mankind, and his belief in an authority which should master the injustice and lawlessness

of men hover before our minds to-day with their colors still bright as the ideals which made it capture his own imagination and win his heart. The thought of an imperial organization of the world has been in the mind of many a leader. It dazzled the imagination of Napoleon. It moved like quicksilver in the thought of that Emperor of Germany whose house went down in the blood and fury of the war which has just closed. So for good and for evil the conception of world unity has continued to seek a place in men's minds. President Wilson became its prophet in a particularly noble form. And men of good will are sure that it must rise from the apathy of these degenerate days. The form in which Dante expressed the idea of the oneness of the world was temporary. The essence of the idea is permanent.

IV. The Philosopher. It may be said that with Dante feeling was more fundamental than thinking. But it was never feeling as a substitute for thought. It was always thought at a white heat of realization. His poetry was philosophy set on fire and burning without being consumed. And the fire burned with a wonderful accompaniment of noble music. Dante lived in a world where Plato had measured the appearance in the terms of an ideal reality. He lived in a world where Aristotle had applied his genius to classification. He lived in a world where Thomas Aquinas had turned the philosophy of Aristotle into a Christian view of God and the world. As Dr. Santayana has suggested, the heart of all this was a view of everything as seen from the position of the dominance of the moral and spiritual meaning. All causes became final causes. The whole view of the world became teleological. The forms of his thinking contain much which is foreign to us. Even as his science is that of a prescientific age, so his philosophy has the marks of the limitations of his period. But it is worth noting that his instincts were almost always sound and sure. His universe is a notable personal organism before the days of personalism. He organized all his thinking about the conceptions of moral and spiritual responsibility. And he built all the separate elements of his world into a noble unity of conception. He had a passion for totality like that of Hegel at a later time. Here again the essential in his thinking is in sharp contrast with many of the

thought forms in which he expresses it. No man ever tried more loftily to see life steadily and to see it whole.

V. The Christian. There is an almost amazing sense in which the "Divinia Commedia" is a spiritual autobiography. You not only come to know the Middle Ages as you never knew them. You come to know the very inmost and secret places of Dante's spirit. From the time when he is lost in the confusions of middle life with wild beasts of temptation ready to devour him, on through the moral revelations of the Inferno and the stern and mastering yet hopeful disciplines of the Purgatorio, the glorious fulfillments of the Paradiso it is the soul of Dante which is in the very center of your thought. And it is the soul of Dante as representing the typical struggles and failures and triumphs which come at last in the experience of the human spirit to Christian victory. When Dante passes through the fire in the Purgatorio you have an almost physical sense of the reality of the experience. Here again it is all expressed in the thought forms of the Catholicism of the Middle Ages. Dante is no revolutionist breaking up the old conceptions. He accepts them heartily. But again and again he accepts them in a fashion which almost recreates them. He has a sure instinct for the moral sanction. And he has a firm sense of spiritual reality. So here again the eternal finds valid expression in the forms of the temporal. We easily brush aside the inadequate form. Dante himself is so clear in his vision of the eternal reality.

And an unutterably lofty place it is which Dante assigns to the religion which he interprets. Christianity is the source of everything and the goal of everything. It is not an incident. It is the one essential, all-mastering matter in human experience even as it is the ultimate reality of the universe itself. And all this is a matter of the most intimate personal experience with the poet. Christianity is bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, life of his life. It is the final and complete actuality which uplifts and sustains and inspires his spirit. It is a personal deliverance and an eternal victory.

VI. The Theologian. Theology was everywhere recognized as the queen of the sciences when Dante wrote. Beatrice herself

has been interpreted as a symbol of theology. She was more than that, but what she was included that. As Virgil represents human reason, so Beatrice represents that full vision of truth which comes with revelation. The vision of Christian truth is itself a defining part of the felicity of heaven to Dante. The loving enjoyment of truth is a rapture the very thought of which kindled his mind. His theology is the thinking of Thomas Aquinas set to music. And in the process it has become the rapture of a spirit finding fulfillment in the realms of perfect light. It is easy to find defects in Dante's theological thinking, but here again it is his spirit and his ultimate goal which matter most. He believes in truth alive, truth dominant, and truth eternal. That complete and unifying truth is in the reality of the life of God and his actual relations to men. Christ has the historic place in his thinking. Mary holds the position given to her by the piety of the Middle Ages. And the conceptions of personality, of responsibility, of forgiveness and of the new life are glowing with an understanding which cannot be limited by the character of any one century. The apotheosis of loving righteousness carries its own message of satisfaction age after age.

The thirteenth century, as we have seen, saw a certain unity built about the church. The age of Innocent III and Thomas Aquinas and Saint Francis was in truth an amazing time of churchly achievement. And in one way it may be said that Dante at the beginning of the fourteenth century gave the final expression to this unity. The "Divina Commedia" was a Gothic cathedral in words. But looking more deeply we have already seen that Dante dreamed of another unity, a unity built about the state and depending upon a great emperor. And this dream he saw in very process of falling in fragments at his feet. For the fourteenth century was a century of disintegration. The papal captivity at Avignon, the great schism, the growth of national feeling, the rise of new mental habits and new methods of obtaining moral sanctions, marked the falling of that edifice which had towered so potently in the world of men. Petrarch has been called the first modern man. In a sense Dante may be called the last man of the Middle Ages. The break-up became a completer dis-

integration. The Renaissance and the Reformation enriched the world, but they did not unify it. Modern science unified the impersonal aspects of experience and has lost a good deal of time trying to translate personal activities into impersonal terms. Economic and social movements have possessed their own thrill. As yet they have given unity to groups rather than to the total of life. So the modern man in a divided society looks back with a certain astonishment to the completeness, the harmony, and the unity of Dante's view of life.

We have already referred to Dante's limitations. He was a scholastic in method of thinking; he did not possess that originality which cuts to the heart of contemporary superstitions of the mind and the conscience and the heart. He was more interested in conservation than in the remaking of social relationships. He belongs to the great group of men who would stabilize the life of society. Such a position has its great strength as well as its weakness. Personality and righteousness and responsibility, the ethical struggle, the sternness of the law which makes evil produce evil, the glory of forgiveness, and the ultimate triumph of the righteous love of God have received supremely memorable expression in the writings of Dante. If there are any literary immortals he is one of them.

And Dante has his words of power to speak to the twentieth century. We, too, dream wistfully of unity in an age when the sanctions of life seem to be breaking all about us. We, too, hear the still and poignant voice of the inner life calling amid the confusions of the world. We, too, would reassure our own minds as to the eternal validities of righteousness in the midst of a disintegrating age. We, too, wait for the fresh vision of God in the midst of the turbulence of a time whose life seems a denial of His existence. We, too, may find serenity and hope and confident belief in the future as we find our own authentic contact with the truths which do not die and the Personality who is at once life's source and life's consummation.

THE AWAKENING STUDENT MIND OF CHINA

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One of the most exciting adventures open to the Westerner in China just now is a trip inside the Chinese student mind. It is not particularly hard to gain entrance, for the modern Chinese student has thrown open his mental doors and placed a "Welcome" mat without to attract almost any tramp who happens by. But, once within, you find yourself in a bizarre country. And not a few good people, unable to recognize familiar sign-posts, have become frightened and rushed forth crying the alarm.

It is worth making this journey, however, for the student mind of China is the most significant element in the country to-day. The scholar has always been the most significant figure in Chinese society, but his significance in this second decade of the twentieth century is of a kind different from that of the past. He incarnates the true Chinese revolution—the movement that is transforming the world relations of a quarter of the human race. It is rigid truth to say that the real Chinese revolution is taking place inside the minds of the students of China.

This revolution has been growing for a good many years, but most of us remained blind to it until a couple of summers ago, when the Shantung award at Paris sent the students of a hundred cities off into a wild outburst of protest, and student strikes, linked with merchant embargoes, turned certain officials out of office and started the boycott against Japan. There are still hundreds of foreigners in China who, when one speaks of the Student Movement, think only of street processions, soap-box orators, and the rather futile effervescence that accompanied some of the demonstrations of last year.

But the real Student Movement, the abiding element that is finally going to transform China, is an inner ferment now working where no government or other external authority can intervene. It will gradually work itself out in objective expressions,

of which the so-called Literary Renaissance is the first example. And it is invincible.

If you doubt this, please study this same Literary Renaissance. The literature of China has for countless ages been written in a form highly compressed, totally divorced from the spoken language, and intelligible only to advanced scholars. This form has been called Wen-li. In his claim that China is the Middle Ages reenacted Professor Ross could draw the parallel between this Wen-li and the monkish Latin with great effectiveness. Five years ago Wen-li seemed as firmly seated in its control as when Confucius wrote in it. In January, 1917, a professor in the National University in Peking (not to be confused with the Christian institution in the same city) published an article advocating the use of the spoken language as a medium of literary expression. A few months later Dr. Hu Suh, this same professor, who had returned from his studies in Cornell and Columbia only the previous year, began to publish pamphlets in this style. A perfect storm of derision fell upon him, which increased as he inspired the publication of periodicals, and reached its climax when he dared to present a history of Chinese philosophy (of all sacred subjects!) in the vulgar tongue. In January, 1921, this new style of writing, commonly known as *pei hua*, or clear language, is sweeping the field. I am told that there are five hundred newspapers and other periodicals now being published in this style. Practically all the significant writing now being done—and there is a mighty amount of it—is in the *pei hua*. Within four years this first conspicuous adventure of the new class of students has captured the process of literary expression. In the long struggle to transform a race, could any initial victory be more valuable?

A moment ago I hinted at the significance of much that is being written in China to-day. Until the time of the abolition of the ancient examination system, a score of years ago, Chinese literature was rigidly confined to the rehashing of the philosophic maxims of the sages of the dim past. In the fifteenth century, to be sure, Wang Yang-ming was able to put across a few new ideas under cover of a commentary on Confucius. But for the most part Chinese literature consisted in taking one of the classics to

pieces and putting it together again, with as few parts left over as possible. In less than a generation there is none of this left. Commentaries on Confucius and Mencius may still be written, but if they are they will bear about the same relation to previous volumes that the work of Wellhausen did to that of Matthew Henry. A whole literature is coming into being, almost over night. A vast body of readers is being discovered, for many a Chinese can recognize the majority of the characters who could not penetrate the meaning of the old Wen-li. But the thing to note is that this literature deals with every subject under heaven, and never hesitates to spread broadcast conclusions that are diametrically opposed to all the teaching of China's past forty centuries.

This literature springs out of the student mind, and finds its first response within the student mind. This is not a well-disciplined mind. It is too adventurous. The Elizabethans were not particularly well disciplined, but they made the British Empire of these latter days a possibility. And sometimes when, after contact with the present Chinese student mind in some of its manifestations, I get to thinking that we have to deal with a whole order of Greenwich Villagers, I conclude that what China needs to-day is adventure rather than order, and that we can safely leave the restoration of balance to the gravitation of the years.

This literature shows that the Chinese student mind is to-day concerned with a questioning of all ancient sanctions. It is not enough to say that Confucius said such-and-so; or that an emperor did this-and-that. The student asks whether the action was right in the first place, and, if it was, whether it is justified now. Nothing is sacred. The institutions of family life, upon which we are told that Chinese civilization has been built, are being questioned as rigorously as the institutions of government. Social and economic theories of the most radical nature are constantly being proclaimed. The most influential journal in China at this moment has been this week suspended by the government (by the Burlesonian method of denying it mailing privileges) because of its advocacy of the principles being preached by Bertrand Russell. And, naturally, religion is being subjected to as fierce attack as any other element in life.

The attack upon religion can probably be dated from the publication in the seventh year of the republic (1918) of a manifesto by Chancellor Tsai Yuan-pei, of the National University at Peking, in which religion was spoken of as a form of superstition helpful only to undeveloped minds, and a sort of ethical culture was advocated for the educated. Chancellor Tsai stands at the head of the entire Student Movement. His university is recognized as the fount of its most compelling ideas. It is no wonder, therefore, to find this attitude toward religion among modern Chinese everywhere.

It must be borne in mind that this Student Movement, while it has taken hardest hold in government schools, affects intensely the students in mission schools as well. It is almost ludicrous to see the panic that takes place among some devoted missionary teachers when they discover this to be the case. One is reminded of the mental condition of the hen who has hatched duck eggs when first she sees her brood take to water. It is largely to this discovery that we just now owe the formation of a Bible Union by certain missionaries, one of the chief objectives of which is to see that nothing but orthodoxy is taught in mission schools, and the students thus safeguarded from all unsettling ideas. Certainly our student bodies in our mission schools seethe with new ideas, but certainly the teaching staffs did not plant them there.

Recently my colleague, Dr. Lo Ren-yen, and I have been trying to gauge this radical movement of thought, particularly as it affects the students in Christian schools. We have done this to inform the church in China, but it seems to me that it will be worth passing on some of our discoveries to our supporters in America. To those who wish intelligently to appraise the situation on such an important mission field as China, no bit of background can be of more value than a conception of what is filling the minds of China's students.

To gather this information we have gone to most of the colleges and higher preparatory schools of East China, without regard to denominational affiliations. We have not heard from schools west of Changsha, in Hunan province, but we believe that the content of the student mind in West China is about what it is

in the rest of the country. We have reports from universities, women's colleges, junior colleges, and middle schools (the Chinese equivalent for a high school). We have also been told of questions raised by students in the summer conferences conducted by the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. The students who, knowingly and otherwise, have supplied us with our material, have, in the majority of cases, been members of some branch of the Christian Church. Their instruction has ranged all the way from that given by teachers who believe in an absolutely inerrant, complete, inclusive and verbal inspiration of the Bible, to that which might be expected, let us say, from a mild progressive of the type turned out at Garrett or Boston. None of them have been under what might be termed radical instruction.

What are these students in the Christian schools of China thinking about?

Their problems cover the field of political, economic, sociological and religious thought. Many of their questions sound familiar, and have been wrestled with in the West for centuries. But in the East they are anything but familiar, and their mere appearance bespeaks a mind determined to pursue its own untrammeled way.

In the women's schools it is not unnatural to find the discussion of women's rights to the fore. The dissolution of the family, free love, and such are being preached in some quarters of China to-day. The women in Christian schools are not going to that extent, but they do advocate making China's educational system coeducational. They do wish to experiment with the same promiscuity of the sexes that we have known in the Occident. They do demand equal opportunities and pay for educated women with those offered educated men. (That may not sound radical to you, but consider it from the Chinese standpoint.) And they do express a determination to alter fundamentally many of the conceptions upon which the Chinese home of the past has been built.

Of course this consideration of social problems is not confined to the girls. The changing of the standards of sexual relationship is frequently discussed among male students. Many examples might be cited, ranging from the demand, "How can con-

servative parents be made to sympathize with the young?" to the outburst of the poor chap in Hunan who tried Western methods of courtship with disastrous results, and then asked his teacher, "What shall I do when a girl treats my offer of marriage as an insult?"

More serious is the manifestation of radical thought when the students walk out of their classes, as they recently did in a college maintained by an American institution, and demonstrate in favor of equality between teachers and students, the abolition of examinations, and the like!

The political situation is ever in the student mind. Some give way to despair, and ask helplessly what they can do. Others are growing cynical in the face of the misgovernment which disgraces the country, and cry, "What is the use of government?" And from that there has come the neo-anarchistic notion that we have found in certain Christian student centers, "What is the need of government?"

If socialism can ever demonstrate its effectiveness it will find a quick welcome among the students in mission schools. Or any other "ism" that can uplift the downtrodden masses of China. There is an immense amount of revolt against the unjust social and economic conditions of the country. (Last week, in Shanghai, women workers in a certain silk filiature won an increase of twenty cents a day in pay. Their total wage is now thirty cents a day.) As one girl asked, "Why do the poor have to work so hard and get so little?" Nor do these students stop with raising the question. They discuss various means of change, amounting to economic revolution. They mean to do what they can to remedy the outrageous conditions of coolie, woman, and child labor, and if any observer does not know that they stand ready to embrace almost any experiment that holds promise of meeting the need, he does not know what the students are thinking.

But it is when you come into the realm of religious discussion that you become most quickly conscious of the departure of the student mind from teacher-blazed paths. One feels that much of this protest against political, social, and economic wrongs is the result of Western suggestion. In matters religious there is little

such influence. To be sure, the original impetus may have been given by Japanese translations of certain Occidental rationalistic volumes. But we are far beyond that stage now. We are in a day when the students in our Christian schools are thinking for themselves along all lines of religious interest.

The wealth of material is embarrassing. In an effort to condense, let me testify that the proof is overwhelming that the student mind which has been under Christian instruction is having a hard wrestle with the problems of Christology, and particularly as implied in the doctrine of the Trinity. The questions sound old to us. "Since Father and Son are one God," asks one student, "why do we always call Jesus the Son of God?" Another: "Since God, Son, and Holy Spirit are three in one, why preach them separately?" "If God and Son are one, why does it say in the Bible that even the Son does not know what the Father intends?" "Since Jesus is God and God is Jesus, to whom did he pray when he was in the world?" "What is the proof that Jesus is God and not a saint like Confucius or many other saints who suffered for their teaching?" Most of these questions, be it noted, have been asked by students who were members of the church.

The student attitude toward the miraculous is almost universally skeptical. "Can we believe in miracles in view of their unscientific character?" asks one. The general attitude seems to be: "Here is one place where Christianity and modern science are opposed. If I want to be a Christian, I must accept the miracles; but how can I do this and still remain a modern student? It is a mystery." Some are content to leave it a mystery, but more are not. They say, in the words of a university student who is a church member, "As we read the stories of the miracles of Jesus Christ we don't quite believe that they are all true because they are theological and conflict with science. As to the scientific point of view, they are absolutely untrue." Specific miracles, such as the virgin birth and most of the wonder tales of the Old Testament, are regarded as on a plane with similar accounts in Chinese folklore. But most disquieting is the question that finally comes to so many: "Since we cannot believe in miracles, can we believe in

Christ?" It was a university student who asked that, and his words echo the thoughts within scores of hearts.

We cannot quote these questions at length, but the significance of such as these demands no pointing out: "Is there really heaven and hell?" "Why cannot God destroy the devil if he is almighty?" "Why does God let Satan tempt people when he commands us not to tempt each other?" Or, as a girl in a middle school put it, "Who created Satan?" "Is not the belief in immortality a kind of superstition?"

A theological student takes a deeper plunge. "What," asks he, "is the relation of mesmerism to prayer and the development [note that word] of eternal life?"

Here is the question of a girl who has been under careful religious instruction for years, and has recently heard in her school some of the extreme pre-millennial teaching we are experiencing in China just now. She does not yet think of questioning the doctrine of Christ's physical return, but she asks, "Are the religious people who prophesy the date of Christ's coming false prophets?" How long will it be before she poises a more searching problem?

The fitness or unfitness of Christianity for China is being discussed by our students. One asks: "How can the pacific teachings of Jesus Christ help China when she needs the 'iron and blood heart and spirit'?" Another: "Is not socialism better for China than Christianity?" And one enrolled as a Christian in one of our colleges, who has evidently been considering the peculiar adaptability of Buddhism and other forms of worship to Chinese conditions, reaches this conclusion: "Is it good for Christians to condemn other religions? On no account should we speak badly about them."

It only remains to be said that everywhere there is a questioning of the foundations of faith itself. The seed sown without is bearing fruit within the ranks of our students. "Why should we have religion," a student known as a Christian asks, "since it is superstition and causes stagnation in progress?" Christian worship is compared with the worship of idols by the ignorant, and all alike stigmatized as superstition. And in many and many a school there is evidence that thoughtful students, who have been

under Christian instruction for years, are reaching a point where, over against all religion, Christianity as well as the rest, they are writing that sinister word: Superstition.

So we come to the end of our brief incursion within the portals of the Chinese student mind, having confined ourselves to that small part of the Chinese student body which is in mission schools. Do you wonder that some people, after similar adventure, have rushed forth to cry the alarm?

And yet the situation is far from hopeless. It is not even desperate. For with all this questioning there goes an equal amount of openness. And if Christian teachers approach these students in a fair manner, showing that they know and respect the results of modern science, and yet advocating a Christianity that is compelling in its ethical power and has deep social implications, they will find awaiting them an army of eager recruits. But I have thought it worth writing this for the information of my brethren in the ministry at the home base. For if it is true, as you have been assured by innumerable missionary orators, that "the Chinese mind is open as never before" (and it is true), you want to remember that it is open to a lot of things besides the Westminster Catechism, or even the sacred Twenty-five Articles of Religion.

WAS CONFUCIUS A RELIGIOUS MAN?

SIA TIENG ANG

(Deceased, 1905)

CONFUCIUS was a man. He is known to the West as a philosopher, but the Chinese know him better as a teacher of a hundred ages to come, a sage and the sage of sages. But whatever name is used and whatever title is given him, he was but a man and not a spirit, the difference between these terms being illustrated by their definitions given by Mencius.[1] "When a great man exercises a transforming influence, he is called a sage. When a sage is beyond human knowledge, he is what is called a spirit." Again, in the book of Mencius I find the following quotations: "An officer once came to him and said, 'The King sent a man to spy out whether you, sir, were really different from other men.' Mencius replied, 'How should I be different from other men? Yao and Shun were just the same as other men.' Yen Yuen said, 'What kind of man is Shun?' 'What kind of man am I? He who exerts himself will also become such as he was.' "[2]

Thus it was the idea of Mencius and other sages that a sage is a man by no means different from other men; that Yao or Shun or Confucius was one to whom we to-day could make ourselves equal. It must be admitted, however, that he has never yet been equaled. This testimony is again found in the works of Mencius. Being questioned by one of his disciples about two acknowledged sages, Peuh I and I Yin, whether they were to be placed in the same rank with Confucius, Mencius replied, "No; so long as men have lived until now, there never was another Confucius."

He proceeded to fortify his opinion by the concurring testimony of Tsai Wo, Tze Kung, and Yiu Yoh,[3] who all had wisdom

[1] Mencius: successor of Confucius and the last of the nine sages to carry on the Chinese Λόγος. These are (1) Yao, (2) Shun, (3) Yu, (4) T'ang, (5) King Wen, (6) King Wu, (7) Duke of Chow, (8) Confucius, (9) Mencius.

[2] Yen Yuen: The St. John of Confucianism and one of the four assistants who occupied the first seat in the temple of Confucius.

[3] Tsai Wo, Tze Kung, Yiu Yoh were all disciples of Confucius. The first two were known as the best speakers of the school, and the last one was said to have borne some resemblance to his master in general characteristics.

sufficient to know their master. This was the opinion of Tsai Wo: "According to my view of our master, he is far superior to Yao and Shun." Tze Kung thought that "By viewing the ceremonial ordinances of a prince, one knows the character of his government; by hearing his music, one knows the character of his virtue. From the distance of a hundred ages after, I can arrange, according to their merits, the kings of a hundred ages; not one of them can escape me. From the birth of mankind till now, there has never been another like our master." This was the view of Yiu Yoh: "Is it only among men that it is so? There is the *ki lin*[4] among the quadrupeds; the phoenix among birds; the Tai[5] mountain among mounds and ant-hills; and the rivers and sea among rain-pools. Though differing in degree, they are the same in kind. So the sages among mankind are also the same in kind. But they stand out from their fellows and rise up above the crowd. From the birth of mankind till now, there never has been one so complete as Confucius."

These testimonies show that he was unsurpassed and unequaled. He was a man *par excellence*. Without him those who were sages before him could not be known, and without him those who were sages after him could find no pattern. Therefore he was called the foremost sage, or the sage of sages.

Born in the year 551 B. C., in Lu, a kingdom which now forms part of the Shantung province, Confucius was the son of his father's old age. The latter was a soldier of great prowess and daring bravery. He married in early life, but his wife bore him only daughters to the number of nine, and no son. His concubine bore him a son, who unfortunately proved a cripple. He married again, and his second wife gave birth to Confucius. Prior to this time, fearing that she should not bear children in consequence of her husband's age, she secretly ascended Na Kiu, where she offered her prayers that Heaven might bless her with sons. Accordingly, when the child was born, and she found to her joy that it was a boy, she gave as his name Kiu (the mountain), in commemoration of the event.

[4] *Ki lin:* a one-horned animal, which with the phoenix, tortoise, and dragon constitute the four spiritual creatures.

[5] Tai: The Himalaya of the Confucian world.

Confucius[6] was only three years old when his father died. As a child of six years, he used to play at the arranging of sacrificing vessels and at postures of ceremony. Of his schooling there is no reliable account. He tells himself that at fifteen he bent his mind to learning; but the condition of the family was one of poverty. At a subsequent period, when the people were wondering at the variety of his knowledge, he explained it by saying: "When I was young, my condition was low, and accordingly I acquired my ability in many things, but they were trifling matters."

At nineteen he married a lady from the state of Song, and in the year following his son Li was born. On this occasion Duke Chiu of Lu sent him a present of a couple of carp. It was to signify his appreciation of his prince's favor that he called his son Li (the carp). The fact of the Duke's gift to him shows that he was not unknown, but was already commanding public attention and the respect of the great.

It was about this time, when he was twenty years of age, that Confucius first took his public employment as keeper of the stores of grain, and in the following year he was put in charge of the public fields. Mencius adduces these employments in illustration of his doctrine that a superior man may at times take office on account of poverty, but must confine himself in such a case to places of small emolument, and aim at nothing but the discharge of humbler duties. According to him, Confucius, as keeper of stores, said: "My accounts must all be correct—that is all I have to think about." When in charge of the public fields, he said: "The oxen and sheep must be fat and strong—that is all I have to think about."

In the next year Confucius commenced his labors as a teacher, and the people gradually came to him and followed him. He never refused to impart instruction, however small the fee his pupils were able to afford. Hence he was known as one "teaching without being wearied." What he required of his pupils was an ardent desire for improvement and some degree of capacity. "I do not

[6] Confucius is the Latinized form of K'ung Futze, meaning Master K'ung, as he is commonly called by the Chinese themselves. K'ung being his surname, his given name was Mu, which is now pronounced K'iu, owing to the fact that certain names, like those of all emperors and some sages, have to be avoided.

open up the truth," said he, "to any one who is not eager to seek knowledge, nor help any who is not anxious to present his own views. When I have presented one corner of a subject to any one, and he cannot from it learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson." He told his pupils that it was pleasant to study with perseverance and constant application, and that studying should go side by side with thinking. "Studying," said he, "without thinking is labor lost, and thinking without studying is perilous." To encourage his pupils in the line of steady work, he used a fine illustration. He said: "The prosecution of learning may be compared to what may happen in raising a mound. If there be wanting but one basket of earth to complete the work, and I stop, the stopping is my own loss. It may also be compared to throwing down the earth on level ground. Though but one basketful is thrown at a time, the progress is my own attainment."

At the age of twenty-four his mother died, and according to the national propriety he confined himself to three years' mourning—three years nominally, but in reality only a little over two years, as the way of Chinese counting, instead of beginning with zero, begins with one.

The Chinese looked upon Confucius as a great pattern for filial duty. He was asked many times by his different disciples what was meant by "filial duty"; in other words, what must a son do to his parents in order that he might attain to the very essence of that word? Though he gave different answers at different times, his fundamental principle in the teaching of filial duty is involved in these words: "That parents, when alive, should be served according to propriety; that when dead, they should be buried according to propriety, and that they should receive sacrifices according to propriety." In referring to the three years' mourning one of his disciples once said that one year seemed to him long enough. "If after a year," said Confucius, "you were to eat good rice and wear silk clothes, would you feel at ease?" "I should," was the disciple's reply. "If you can feel at ease," added Confucius, "you may do it. But a superior man, during the whole period of mourning, does not enjoy pleasant food which he may eat, nor enjoy music which he may hear, nor would he feel

at ease if he were comfortably lodged. Therefore he does not do what you propose. Now you say you feel at ease, you may do it." His disciple having gone out, Confucius said: "Alas! how virtueless Yu is! It is not till a child is three years old that it can leave the arms of its parents, and the three years' mourning is universally observed. Can Yu really have even three years' affection for his parents?"

This parental respect—the respect paid to parents after their death—has been unfortunately misunderstood by many writers of the day, and has been taken as the "ancestral worship." There is no such teaching as the worship of ancestors in Confucianism. Confucius did not advocate it.[7] What is to-day known as ancestral worship is merely the extension of the filial duty or better part of it. It is that part of the filial duty that a son renders to his parents when dead as well as when alive. The explanation of it is simply this: that there exists a natural feeling in the son that the parental merits, in other words, what the parents have done for their son during their lifetime, are so great that they can hardly be repaid. Therefore, after the parents are gone, the son cannot help thinking of and paying respect to them as though they were yet with him, thereby somewhat relieving him of overgrief and remorse. Thus the so-called ancestral worship is nothing but a sort of memorial service, and if it is legitimate to perform such service in commemoration of some distinguished men, it should be far more so to do the same in commemoration of parents, since it is the commandment of God that a son should honor his parents.

[7] "The idolatrous elements involved in ancestral worship," writes Dr. Martin, in his authoritative Lore of Cathay, p. 277, "are, as we have seen, excrescences, not of the essence of the system. Why not prune them off and retain all that is good and beautiful in the institution? A tablet inscribed with a name and date is in itself a simple memorial, not more dangerous than the urns of ashes which cremationists are supposed to preserve in their dwellings, and not half so much so as pictures and statues; why should the native convert be required to surrender or destroy it? . . . Even the act of prostration before the tomb or tablet can hardly be regarded as objectionable in a country where children are required to kneel before living parents. Two things excite my poignant grief when I look back to the mistakes of the past—one, the exclusion of a church member for complying with the ordinary marriage ceremony and kneeling before a strip of paper inscribed with the five objects of veneration, the other insisting on the surrender of ancestral tablets as a proof of sincerity on the part of an applicant for baptism. I had no right to impose such a test in either case. That which is really objectionable is geomancy and the invocation of departed spirits. The simplest ideas of science are sufficient to dispel the one form of superstition, and a very small amount of religious knowledge supplies an effectual antidote to the other. The worship of ancestors would thus be restored to the state in which Confucius left it, or rather to that in which he himself practised it—as merely a system of commemorative rites."

The misunderstanding, however, undoubtedly, comes from that word *pai,* which is defined now "to worship," and again, "to pay respect,"[8] which latter the Chinese etiquette demands of the inferior to the superior; of the young to the old, even as of the son to the parents. Thus a student pays respect to his teacher; a subject pays respect to an officer; a minister pays respect to his sovereign. If you call it worship in the case of the son, why not call it worship in the case of the student, in the case of the minister, and indeed in any case where such respect is paid?

So much has been told of his life from the boyhood to his manhood. It is not the writer's intention to go any further historically. Suffice it to say that from this time on he did much for the benefit of mankind—whether in traveling from place to place giving instruction, or in remaining in one place holding some public office. It is not necessary to go into the details of the history of his long life, noting every item of his work or every phrase of his teaching. What is particularly of note is whether he may be called a religious man or not, or, as the subject puts it interrogatively, "Was Confucius a religious man?"

There have been not a few who have either talked or written about Confucius. Some have judged him in one way; others in another. None of them has ever yet got a good impression of him and done him justice. The world did not know him, even in the same way as it did not know Jesus. The Chinese sage was misunderstood,[9] misjudged, and misrepresented. Though men did not know him, yet he believed that there was one who did know him. "Alas!" said he, "there is no one that knows me." One of his disciples asked: "How is it that no one knows you?" The master replied: "I do not murmur against Heaven; I do not grumble against men. Beneath I learn, and above I penetrate. There is only Heaven—that does know me!" In reading the four gospels one carefully notes that Jesus again and again referred to the Father as the only one who sent him to the world where his sole object is to save men. So also in reading the "Four Books" of

[8] See similar distinction in Matt. 2. 2 in Appendix to the Revised Version, Margin of American Revision, and Wesley's Notes on the New Testament.

[9] "His attitude towards religion," writes Dr. Martin in his Cycle of Cathay, p. 288, "has been misunderstood. He was not an agnostic in the modern sense."

Confucius, you will find that references were again and again made to Heaven as the one by whom Confucius was commissioned,[10] with the principal object to preach the Tao[11] doctrine.

On two occasions his life seemed to be in danger, but he was cool and took hold firmly of the belief that if Heaven were to be with him, there was no fear as to whatever might happen to him. The first incident took place in his fifty-sixth year, when one day he was passing by K'uong, a town which had formerly suffered from Yang Hu. It so happened that Confucius bore some resemblance to Hu, and the attention of the people being called to him by the movements of his carriage, they thought it was their old enemy, and made an attack upon him. His disciples were alarmed, but he assured them by declaring his belief that he had a divine mission, and said to them: "After the death of King Wen was not the cause of truth lodged here in me? If Heaven had wished to let the cause of truth perish, then I, a mortal, should not have got such a relation to that cause. While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of K'uong do to me?"

The other event occurred a year later. He was practicing ceremonies with his disciples under a large tree, when suddenly they were set upon by emissaries of Huang Toi, an evil-minded officer of Song. These miscreants pulled down the tree and wanted to kill the sage. His disciples urged him to make haste and escape, but he quieted their fears by wise words: "Heaven produced the virtue that is in me. Huang Toi—what can he do to me!" Thus Confucius possessed his soul in perfect calmness, for "his hour had not yet come."

Confucius went one time to pay a visit to Nang-tze, Duchess of Wei. Now that lady was notorious for her intrigues and wickedness. She had heard of the fame of this sage, and sought an interview with him, which the latter was obliged to accord reluctantly. His visit, however, gave great dissatisfaction to one of his

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[10] "Confucius, after a brief experience in official life," writes Dr. Martin, Cycle of Cathay, p. 287, "devoted himself to the work of education, conscious of a heaven-appointed mission, and feeling that in that way he could best shape the destinies of coming ages."

[11] *Tao* was adopted by the Chinese Bible translators to represent the Λόγος, or Word, in John 1. 1.

disciples, that his master should have been in company with such a woman. But to assure him Confucius swore an oath, saying: "Wherein I have done improperly, may Heaven reject me! May Heaven reject me!" His theory was that he was to please Heaven and Heaven alone; and that whatever he might do was in perfect accordance with the divine will. This, again, corresponds to the great lesson taught by Jesus, who in whatever he did or desired to do, never forgot to refer to the will of God. That sinful woman recorded in the seventh chapter of Luke, who came to Jesus with a box of precious ointment, though she did not please Simon, yet did she not please Jesus? So Confucius believed that however bad a woman the Duchess was, the visit could do him no harm, but on the contrary it might do her some good. He convinced himself that "if a thing were really hard, it might be ground without being made thin, and that if a thing were really white, it might be steeped in a dark fluid without being made black.

Thus throughout the classics, Confucius used the word *Tieng* —Heaven—and regarded it as the one greatest of all—the transcendental Being to whom all nations and all living beings are subjected. But the modern scholars of the West are not satisfied with the term, and say that it is impersonal,[12] and hence that it cannot be identified with the Biblical term God, or the Greek θεός. This is perhaps due to their imperfect study of the original. The Chinese government is to-day ridiculing a certain class of her people who devote a couple of years' study to English, becoming able, perhaps, to know something about the ABC's, and are therefore proud to call themselves Western scholars. The Chinese government, I say, frowns on these fellows, and says that they touch only the hairs and skin, and do not go deep enough to the sinews and bones. These so-called modern scholars, who have hitherto made more or less of a study of this Chinese sage, but have not, as the result of their study, got a good impression of him, are not unlike these men knowing merely hairs and skin.

Moreover, Nathanael-like, they have a sort of national preju-

[12] "Yet few men," says Dr. Martin in Cycle of Cathay, p. 288, "have ever been more penetrated with reverence for the Supreme Power of the universe, whom, to avoid irreverence, he calls by the vague designation of Heaven. His conception is not wanting in personality, for he ascribes to Heaven the attributes of moral government and providence."

dice in their mind that no good thing comes out of China, and therefore it is no wonder that they do no justice to this great man. To speak of Heaven as impersonal—the Chinese understand what that means. Their definition for it is this: "That part of the air which is light and pure, floating upwards, makes what is called heaven." The ancient word for heaven or sky contains two characters, which mean literally "blue air." But this modern word for heaven is also made of two characters meaning "first great," or "the greatest," which, being suggestive itself, may therefore be personal as well as impersonal. Still, it is not right to judge by word, but rather by the context. Whether God, or *Tieng* or *θεός*, it is nothing but a mere term used. If the meaning of each can identify one with the other, then the conclusion is drawn that God, *Tieng,* and *θεός* are the same Being.

To return. Confucius believed in Heaven as omniscient. He used to say that although men could be deceived, yet Heaven could never be deceived, and that the attempt to deceive Heaven would be a sin unpardonable. Being very sick one time, Tze Lu,[13] fearing lest his master might die, secretly sent some of his disciples to act as official servants to him. When he was somewhat better, he was conscious of the fact, and said: "Long has the conduct of Yiu been deceitful. By pretending to have official servants when I have them not, whom do I impose upon? Do I not impose upon Heaven?" Though he seemed to take the responsibility on himself, he was really giving an important lesson to his disciple by warning him that it was useless for him to do such a dishonest thing, inasmuch as Heaven would know it, even though men might fail.

In the Doctrine of the Mean, which was written by his grandson, there are some passages wherein I am satisfied as to his knowledge of the divine omnipresence. Here he used the word "Spirit"[14] instead. He said: "How transcendent and yet immanent is the Spirit in the manifestation of his virtue! Look,

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[13] Tze Lu: The St. Peter of Confucianism. The same one referred to above, who challenged his master upon his visit to the Duchess.

[14] Spirit: The original are two words, *Kwi Sheng*, which had been taken as plural by all Western scholars who ever touch on this subject. That it is rendered singular here is by authority of Chu Hsi, the authorized commentator of the Four Books.

and you see him not; listen, and you hear him not; but he exists in all things—in the non-existent as well as in the existent—and there is nothing without him. He makes all the people fast and purify themselves and array themselves in the richest raiment in order to attend at the sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, the Spirit would seem to be above them and about them. It is said in the Book of Poetry: 'The coming of the Spirit you cannot imagine, and can you treat it with indifference and disrespect?' " So also the disciple Tseng[15] in expounding his master's canonical doctrine which forms the first chapter of "Great Study,"[16] said: "Innumerable eyes look at you and innumerable fingers point at you; O, it is fearful!" It might perhaps surprise the reader here to note the sudden change of the term from Heaven to Spirit, but they are identical with each other, and in other places he even uses the words for God exclusively.[17]

Not only did he know of Heaven as omniscient and omnipresent, but he also spoke of Heaven as the ruler of the universe. He said: "I wish that I did not have to speak." "If you, master," said one of his disciples, "do not speak, what shall we, little children, have to record?" Confucius replied: "Does Heaven ever speak? Yet the four seasons pursue their courses and the things are being produced accordingly. Does Heaven ever speak?" By this he simply meant that Heaven had such a great and wonderful power that it was not necessary for him to dictate to this and give command to that, before everything could go on in its regular course, but that all things were subjected to him, and hence all things were to perform their duties accordingly. This is but another way of describing the omnipotence of Heaven. Here comes the trinity of the divine attributes, namely, the omniscience, the omnipresence, and the omnipotence.

Let us now come to the subject of prayer, and see what he had to say about it. He was seriously sick at another time. One of his disciples asked leave to pray for him. He said: "Is there

[15] Tseng: Confucius's chosen disciple to whom he intrusted his teaching. It was supposed that Confucius was to choose his favorite disciple as the transmitter, but, owing to the latter's premature death, he chose Tseng.

[16] Chinese equivalent for Holy Bible.

[17] God. The words are Shang Ti. The Chinese translators of the Bible have adopted these words for God throughout the Bible.

any such record?" "There is," was the immediate reply, "for in the prayers it is said: 'Pray thou to the spirit of the heaven and earth.' " The master added: "If so, I have been praying for a long time"; implying that Confucius desired his disciples to know that it was the duty of men to pray at any time and at every moment, whether in joy or in sorrow, whether in sickness or in good health, and not merely to do it when the necessity calls for it. It is just what Paul, in his Epistle to the Thessalonians, says: "Pray without ceasing."

Another quotation in regard to prayer is this: "He who sins against Heaven has none to whom he can pray." This thought is equivalent to that contained in Matt. xii, 31-32, where Jesus said to the Pharisees: "Wherefore I say unto you, all manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him neither in this world, neither in the world to come." We who are Christians to-day know well that without Jesus none could have the privilege to pray. He is the Mediator between God and man, so that through him, and him only, can one as suppliant look to God as the one to whom he might pray. It is necessary, therefore, that every prayer be offered in the name of Jesus, or it will never be answered.

Before closing, let me, as a mere matter of coincidence, bring out here some of the similarities between him and Jesus. On the one hand, there were seventy men sent out two by two to preach the gospel. On the other, there were seventy-two that had entered the Confucian temple. While Jesus had twelve disciples, Confucius had ten. Out of the twelve, John, Peter, and James were the nearest ones to Jesus. Out of the ten Yen Yuen, Tze Lu, and Tze Kung were the most prominent ones of Confucius. Among these Yen Yuen was in John's place, being the favorite disciple of Confucius. Tze Lu was the Peter in Confucianism. Like Peter, he was quick in disposition, and was always the first to speak. Like Peter, he had on many occasions displeased his master. Like Peter, again, to whom saith the Lord: "Verily,

verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest, but when thou art old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not," this disciple of Confucius was foretold how he should die by his master, who said: "As to Yiu, he shall not die his natural death," and in answer to this prediction he was later killed by a mob.

These are but a few examples among many wherein the mission of Confucius seems to be quite in harmony with that of Jesus, but the one most worthy of notice is that, like Jesus, he taught his disciples according to the needs of different individuals, so that the same question asked by two different men never received a like answer. A number of passages more may be quoted where he was particularly renowned for the sublime thoughts inculcated in his teaching, such as the principal maxims and the doctrine of the mean. But these are more than enough to convince any one that he was a man who by the "cultivation of personality," which, as he tells us in the Great Study, is the root of his teaching, tried to live up to the original nature of man—the image of God. The trouble with so many men who misrepresent him is that they often look upon or think of him as a man either of their time or else of the New Testament, instead of which they ought to place him correctly—a man 500 years before Christ, or an Old Testament man.

To sum up, therefore: Confucius was a man who knew and believed that there is a God, the supreme ruler of the universe. He knew him as a Being omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent. He further knew that he was the only one to whom all due sacrifices and prayers should be offered. He connected moral conduct with the divine Being. This is the essence of religion. Therefore Confucius was preeminently a religious man.

RECENT PHASES OF ROMAN CATHOLIC APOLOGETICS

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The writings of two spokesmen for Roman Catholicism will supply sufficient text for comments and our reference will be mainly to them. These two are Leslie J. Walker, S.J., and Edward Ingram Watkin, the former author of The Problem of Reunion, 1920, the latter represented by two books, Some Thoughts on Catholic Apologetics, 1915, and The Philosophy of Mysticism, 1920.

To either apologist a measure of genuine appreciation may be accorded. The first named indicates no inconsiderable acquaintance with the later religious history of Great Britain. He is also more frank to make concessions along certain lines than has been characteristic of most of his brethren who have undertaken the office of defending the faith. This distinction belongs likewise to the last named. He makes it evident, too, that he has taken serious account of modern philosophical thinking, and is a man enriched by the possession of a large religious sensibility.

The concessions to which we have referred in no wise touch the domain of doctrine proper. Over that domain a perfectly infallible authority is assumed to be installed by divine right. But it is a bit edifying to find a Roman apologist admitting as freely as Walker does the fact of certain undeniable practical abnormities in the sphere of holy Church. "There is," he says, "a vast amount of indifference and infidelity even in Catholic countries." He grants that various popes, cardinals, and bishops in the Middle Ages used political influence for purposes and in ways to which objection could justly be made. A Protestant hand could hardly improve on this description: "It is hard to read the history of the church and not be staggered by the evils that seem sometimes to have held her in their grip. There have been bad popes, worse cardinals and bishops, disgraceful lives amongst the clergy, high

and low, secular and regular. There have been bigots, persecutors, tyrants. There has been worldliness, greed, unedifying diplomacy." To at least one of the popes our author ascribes a wickedness scarcely matched by that of any rival. He speaks of Alexander VI as "that moral Judas of the papacy."

What, then, in the view of Walker, was the fault of the Protestant Reformers who started a revolt less than a score of years after the pontificate of the "moral Judas"? Not at all their efforts to rectify practical abuses. These abuses were exceedingly grave and justified a most rigorous protest. The fault of the Reformers was that, instead of confining their efforts to the remedying of vicious practices, they engaged in the needless and wanton enterprise of attempting to mend the doctrinal system of the church, that is, of the church having its official center in the papacy. They threw off in this way the wholesome constraint of infallible authority and left themselves without safeguards against dogmatic chaos and endless sectarian divisions. They appealed, indeed, to the authority of the Bible. But that appeal was badly founded. It was the Church which gave its sanction to the biblical books and authenticated them to the world. Apart from church authority the Bible lacks definite and adequate credentials, and cannot be built upon with any good assurance. Moreover, recent biblical criticism has served to emphasize still further the futility of the Protestant attempt to build on the sole authority of the Bible; for it has made bold to charge errors upon the Bible itself. Plainly, therefore, no way to a satisfying certainty on the vital truths of religion can be found except through recourse to the infallible authority of the Church.

At this point it is pertinent to remind the apologist that the infallible authority of the Church is no self-evident truth upon which one may rest without being troubled by any insurgent doubts. The antique thinker who undertook to secure a firm foundation for the earth by placing it upon an elephant and the elephant upon a tortoise could be assailed with the question upon what the tortoise rested. So in the present relation the question can be interjected, Upon what rests the infallible authority of the Church? It is quite conceivable that one might find the trend of

the biblical content so uniquely helpful and edifying that it would be much easier for him to rest upon that as a finality than upon the staggering assumption of the infallibility of the Roman Church and of its papal head. As for the bearing of biblical criticism, he might content himself with the reflection that the great things of the Bible are so very great that no sane criticism can ever bar out their effectual appeal to healthy minds. He might repose upon the unassailable fact that the ethico-religious ideal embodied in the deeds and the teachings of Jesus Christ is supremely adapted, in its superlative beauty and excellence, to afford adequate motive-power and guidance to any who will open to it their hearts and their intelligence. Beyond all question he can refuse, and in good logic is compelled to refuse, to take refuge in Roman infallibility because of the findings of biblical criticism. In so far as that criticism makes room for an element of errancy in the Bible, it directly impeaches Roman infallibility, for that subscribes to biblical inerrancy. The formal decrees of the Council of Trent and of the Vatican Council plainly enough imply such inerrancy, and Leo XIII, who may be presumed to have understood the sense designed to be attached to the Vatican decree, declared most unmistakably for complete inerrancy in his encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*. Manifestly, for any Protestant to seek shelter in Roman infallibility because biblical criticism has curtailed his faith in the Bible, would be simple lunacy. An ostrich hiding his head in the sand in order to escape pursuit would be wise and prudent in comparison.

We trust that we shall not appear ungrateful to our author if we make use here of his concession respecting the bad character of some of the popes. Since the infallibility of the Church has been authoritatively declared to reside indivisibly in the pope by virtue of his office, it follows that it is as unequivocally the endowment of a "moral Judas" in the papal chair as of the most saintly incumbent. Now this makes no small enigma for readers who see with open eyes the implication which runs through the New Testament, and is especially conspicuous in the teaching of Christ, that spiritual discernment, the faculty to attach oneself to normal belief, is deeply dependent upon integrity and depth of moral and re-

ligious disposition. What better, then, would it be than a glaring piece of unethical magic to make that faculty resident in a "moral Judas"? Doubtless, the one who is bound by the creed of infallibility will say that an Alexander VI is not known to have issued *ex cathedra* decrees on questions of faith and morals. That may be, but it is the absolute dictum of the Roman system that he, or any other pontiff of like character, was qualified to do so! and, moreover, it is plain that there is no adequate safeguard against any sort of pontiff doing so. The divine providence which could not prevent him from being a wicked man might certainly be baffled as respects controlling his arbitrary and aberrant will in relation to doctrinal matters. It is to be remembered that there are elements of character quite as difficult to manage as the ungodly sensualism and worldliness of Alexander VI. Who is authorized to affirm, for instance, that a thirst for dogmatic distinction and an exaggerated sense of official eminence did not work with abnormal energy in Pius IX? Assuredly it is no breach of charity or reason to charge that much against the pontiff who made bold to issue the decree on the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, in the face of the contrary judgment from a long line of the most eminent doctors of the Church; who manipulated the antecedents and controlled the progress of the Vatican Council to the end of securing a solemn sanction to his own infallibility; and who put forth the extended syllabus of errors. John Henry Newman evidently felt that the pontiff was actuated by a sort of mania for heaping up doctrinal edicts.[1] How this pope's sense of official majesty and preeminence could become a veritable obsession received an astounding manifestation in his boast that he had, by his sentence of excommunication, turned to ashes the souls of those who had despoiled the papacy of the so-called Estates of the Church. For another self-expression of a Roman pontiff as appallingly vengeful one would need to turn to the prayer of Pope Clement VI against the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria. The reputed affability of Pius IX makes the testimony of this historic passage all the more significant in its bearing on the question at issue.

[1] See the essay on Newman in the writer's Pantheistic Dilemmas and Other Essays in Philosophy and Religion.

Before leaving the topic of the imperative demand for a credible foundation of the tremendous assumption of the infallible authority of the Church, we should take note of our apologist's claim that the demand is met by Christ's promise of guidance to his followers. Out of prudential grounds he emphasizes as the result of this guidance the infallible authority of the Church rather than that of the pope, though, of course, he fully accepts the latter, as well as the primacy of Peter, upon which, in Roman theory, it is founded.

This claim as to the import of Christ's promise we cannot at all admit. On three grounds we are compelled to pronounce it quite unwarranted. In the first place, there is no reason to imagine that Christ's promise of guidance meant the impartation of any sheer official infallibility. We do ample justice to the significance of his words when we suppose that they prefigured only such a measure of superintendence and direction as is in accordance with the nature of limited moral beings endowed with a personal autonomy which cannot consistently be overriden even by divine power. A sober induction from the available facts of history enforces the conclusion that the best that can be done by any agent, even in dealing with the most prophetic spirits of all the ages, is to secure such approximation to God's thoughts as may serve on the whole for salutary guidance.

In the second place, the New Testament gives no hint that the promise of Christ had any reference to an ecclesiastical organism centering in Rome. The language of the Master, it is true, in a single instance, indicated that Peter should do an honorable work in *founding* the Church; but that is distant by a whole diameter from any reference to the *continuous function* of a line of ecclesiastical magnates at Rome. What has the New Testament Peter to do with Rome? He did a work of foundation against which the gates of hell have never prevailed and never will prevail. Not a line, however, of sacred history indisputably connects that work with Rome. That he was in the imperial city for a brief interval is not improbable. That he figured as bishop there is outside the limits of sober belief. Historical investigation makes it questionable whether the episcopate in the proper sense existed

in his day. And even if he acted as bishop in Rome, this would simply imply the transient filling of a local office in addition to the general office which he held as apostle, and his successor in the local office would no more have been heir to his general office than a priest in a given parish would be successor to Benedict XV in case the pontiff should personally superintend the work of that parish for an interval. The Roman theory calls for marvelous agility in leaping across great chasms in the historic proof. As just stated, there is no probability that Peter ever functioned as bishop of Rome, and if he did he could not bequeath a supreme and infallible authority which he never possessed or thought of exercising.

In the third place, if the perfectly gratuitous and forced assumption be admitted, that Christ by his promise of guidance meant to indicate the certain establishment of an infallible ecclesiastical authority centering in Rome from the days of Peter onward, it would be necessary to say that he harbored a false expectation. Historical criticism distinctly enforces the denial of the fact of such authority. It shatters beyond repair the assumption of the doctrinal infallibility of the Roman communion and the Roman pontiff. To demonstrate this is the task of the full treatise, and, of course, cannot be attempted within the bounds of a brief essay.[2] For the present we limit our view of the evidence to what has been said on the implications of the acknowledged character of some of the Roman pontiffs.

In directing our attention to the writings of Watkin we encounter a type of apologetics which differs appreciably from that more commonly exemplified by the upholders of the Roman Catholic system. A predilection for the mystics, that is, for those of them who have succeeded in keeping a reputation for orthodoxy, and also a partiality for a wide-reaching syncretism color his exposition. From the latter springs his most arresting apologetic expedient. To this we shall give our attention shortly. But first of all, we wish to take note of a significant admission.

The admission is framed in these words: "Of the great

[2] For a compact review of the evidence the writer's Sacerdotalism in the Nineteenth Century can be consulted.

thinkers who have acknowledged the authority of the Church the majority have been and are men of metaphysical rather than of historical minds, men who prize the static element of experience more than the dynamic. Moreover, among the ancients (with few exceptions) and in the Middle Ages history was in a very poor condition, since the historical sense as we understand it was simply non-existent. The apologist ought in all honesty to admit this."[3]

If the matter of this citation is to be accepted, then the apologist ought also to admit that Roman Catholicism has been in poor condition to furnish the necessary testing and grounding of its own central dogma, namely, that of the infallible authority of the Church; for manifestly thoroughgoing scientifically conducted historical research, through the instrumentality of master minds, is requisite for the proper accomplishment of that great task. Does Watkin believe that such instrumentality is likely to be furnished within the bounds of his Church, and that consequently the deficit, implicitly confessed to have obtained in the past, will be remedied? If so, his faith seems to lack all reasonable foundation. Men of competent erudition and scientific temper will not care to work at historical tasks in the strait-jacket imposed by ecclesiastical fiats. The commonplace apologist will indeed be ready to cite from early church history every item favorable to the rank of the Roman bishop—every compliment which effusive rhetoric and sentimental moods may have dictated or the exigencies of controversy may have made it convenient to use against an opponent. Facts of a reverse order, above all, the massive evidence which the record of the ecumenical councils furnishes against the supposition that the Church of the first six or eight centuries accorded headship to the Roman bishop in anything like the Vatican sense, he will prudently ignore. The apologist who works on that level can keep on writing history. But the man who is truly fit for the task will not care to choose between the alternatives of suppressing capital facts and being put in the pillory. Is it not a matter of certain knowledge that writers of such competency as Doellinger, Hefele, and Friedrich felt in bitterness of soul that history had been crucified by the Vatican decrees on papal supremacy and infallibility?

[3] Some Thoughts on Catholic Apologetics, p. 58.

Is it not beyond denial that recently a historian so candid and well-informed as Duchesne has suffered the humiliation of having his treatise on the Early History of the Christian Church put into the Index of Prohibited Writings? Then look at the way in which this Index, even in its revised form as published under the authority of Leo XIII in 1900, encourages historical writing. The following are a few of the works which it puts under the ban: Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, Hallam's Constitutional History of England, and View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages, Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Robertson's History of the Reign of Charles V, Gregorovius, A History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages and Sismondi's History of the Italian Republics of the Middle Age. Note further the kind of an invitation to a free and frank expression of his convictions which the historian meets in these sentences voiced by Benedict XV in his first encyclical: "No private person, either in books, or in daily papers, or in public speeches, has a right to act as a teacher in the Church. It is well known by all who is the one to whom God confided the magistry of the Church: let then the field be free for him so that he may speak when and how he thinks suitable to speak. It is the duty of all to listen to him with obsequious devotion and to obey his words." Obviously, there is no possible chance for a testing by genuine historical research, on the part of Roman Catholic writers of the foundation dogma of their Church. Sheer official authority, claiming infallibility, gives the final decision on everything related to that dogma and will not permit its own basis to be subjected to searching scrutiny.

What proof does Watkin afford for the infallibility of the Roman Church and the Roman pontiff, which equally with Walker he accepts as an indisputable datum? The nearest approach to an attempted proof that we can discover is contained in his representation of the remarkable comprehensiveness of the Roman Catholic system, its inclusion in balanced proportion of all the cardinal constituents found in the religions of the world. He says: "It is the Catholic religion which can be shown to be a synthesis of all that is positive in all other creeds and worships. We find, for

example, in Catholicism a synthesis of monotheism and polytheism, of the pantheism of the Upanishads and the transcendence of Mohammedanism, of sacerdotalism and personal religion, of sacramentalism and mysticism, of communism and individualism. The Catholic synthesis reconciles and unifies all these divergent elements by rejecting their mutual negations and accepting what is positive in all!"[4] Again he remarks: "Transmigration of souls is the mistaken apprehension of a spiritual purgation such as takes place in purgatory. The self-torment of Brahmin fakirs is a misdirected aim at the life of the Christian ascetic. The various sacrifices of pagan worship are fulfilled in their inmost significance in the sacrifice of the mass."[5]

It strikes us that the censor might have looked a little askance at some of these sentences. The open assignment of polytheism and pantheism to a place in the Christian system has a rather strange appearance. However, it is utterly foreign to our wish to meddle with the orthodoxy of the writer's terminology before the traditionary standard of his Church. In response to the general point of view which he urges we maintain, in the first place, that comprehensiveness is no sure proof of legitimacy. A religion may be as marvelously comprehensive as is modern Hinduism and yet fall to the character of a fantastic and bewildering conglomerate. In the second place, it is quite in order to remark that it is no *a priori* truth that the Roman system admits only the normal ingredients and combines them only in normal proportions. The opposite contention rests on grounds which may well be regarded as invincible.

Take, for example, the alleged perfection of the Roman system as respects its relation to both monotheism and polytheism. To say nothing about the tribute to the saints and their relics which that system sanctions, what is to be made of the honor and sovereignty accorded to the Virgin Mary, not merely in the popular cult, but in the prescriptions of the highest authorities and in the deliberately penned statements of theologians? Pope Pius IX in the context of an *ex-cathedra* pronouncement spoke of her as

[4] The Philosophy of Mysticism, p. 46.
[5] Some Thoughts on Catholic Apologetics, pp. 42, 43.

"Queen of heaven and earth, exalted above all the orders of angels and saints," so potent in her requests that she "finds what she seeks and cannot be frustrated." Leo XIII styled her "the sovereign depository of all peace, and dispenser of all grace," and affirmed that "the Catholic Church has always placed, and with reason, her hope and confidence in the Mother of God." Watkin mentions as a "well-grounded opinion that our Lord was incarnate and died, more for the sake of His immaculate mother than of all the rest of humanity together."[6] Now, how much of monotheistic suggestion is there in this language of popes and apologist? No pagan worshiper ever gave a higher position or a larger measure of heart tribute to a secondary deity than is here inculcated as due to Mary. The placing of her in the category of creatures may be a formal fence against a polytheistic division of the Godhead, but it is no real barrier against a worship in essence polytheistic. The Virgin is exalted as an agent to whom the moral universe is subjected, and an end to which the whole moral creation besides is subordinated.

Once more, take the assumed ideal adjustment between sacerdotalism and sacramentalism, on the one hand, and personal religion and individualism on the other. The observer must have the benefit of a peculiar eye-salve to be able to see any approach to such an adjustment. What is left to personal election and individualism over against sacerdotalism when it is laid down as an infallible thesis that the head priest, the Roman pontiff, possesses in its entirety the administrative and doctrinal authority of the Church, so that no scrap of coordinate authority is set over against him? How can sacramentalism be said to be kept within a just range when its demands—as these are implied by the Councils of Florence and Trent, asserted by the Tridentine Catechism, and taught in the overwhelming consensus of Roman Catholic theologians—involve the everlasting exclusion from the kingdom of heaven of that vast section of the race which dies unbaptized in infancy? How likewise can the sane and normal sacramental scheme be said to be maintained where the dogma prevails that no adult can be saved without the sacrament of penance, except on

[6] The Philosophy of Mysticism, pp. 257, 258.

such stringent terms of salvation (including "perfect contrition") as Roman Catholicism can logically suppose to be fulfilled only in a scanty minority of cases? To talk of an ideal balance here is to talk of what is not at all in sight. Sacramentalism towers over the interests of immortal souls; the remorseless requirements of church machinery turn God into an impotent bystander, and thwart his benevolent will, if it be really presumed that he has a benevolent will.

Further comments might be made on the syncretism which our author endeavors to utilize for his apologetic purpose. It is not easy, for instance, to see how the incredibilities in the Roman Catholic teaching about purgatory find any ground of commendation in the notion of the transmigration of souls, or how the self-torment of Brahmin fakirs helps to recommend a scheme of self-inflicted bodily austerities. If the blind lead the blind, or two parties are equally beclouded in their vision of spiritual realities, there results simply a full opportunity for both to fall into the ditch. But we proceed to note a few theoretical infelicities in which Watkin's allegiance to the Roman system involves him.

The doctrine of transubstantiation and the real presence he, of course, accepts unqualifiedly. At the same time he teaches the need of not confounding matter and spirit. "Catholic apologetic," he says, "has to show that the universe cannot be explained save by the admission of distinct principles, matter and spirit." Now the exigencies of the dogma of the real presence of Christ's body in the eucharist outlaw the distinction between matter and spirit. To make that body in its entirety present at the same instant upon altars the world over exceeds immeasurably the capabilities of any body ever submitted to human inspection. It has to be given such exemption from spatial bonds as belongs alone to spirit, not to say alone to the infinite Spirit. The theologians really set at naught every atom of induction from the known attributes of bodily substance and turn the body of Christ into a purely notional subject, which can respond to any demand simply because it is a purely notional subject. On their plan of procedure, as we have taken pains to show,[7] a man could make out a

[7] Sacerdotalism in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 251, 252.

plausible case for the contention that he carries the sun in his pocket.

Let another illustration of unhappy constraint by dogmatic authority find place. Our apologist upholds free will as against the creed of the determinist or necessitarian. Yet he goes on to impose upon the vast majority of the race a scheme of downright determinism. For all who have crossed over the border conduct no longer earns any merit. The clamps of a divine determinism are placed upon them, and their lot is fully shaped thereby, save as perchance some soul in purgatory may have the benefit of the good offices of those still abiding in the realm of freedom. Roman Catholic theologians, it is true, are not the only ones who have posited freedom in one connection and approved a wholesale determinism in another. It is their special misfortune, however, that the system to which they give consent is reputed to be beyond emendation in its doctrinal contents.

From the point of view of the apologists whom we have been considering—and in this they are completely representative of their Church—it is evident that Roman Catholicism can concede nothing in respect of doctrinal demands for the sake of union with any ecclesiastical party. Protestants who are coveting union with Rome should know that they have no way to effect this end except by starting, with bag and baggage, for the Roman camp. Roman Catholics cannot discuss terms of union until they are ready to commit dogmatic suicide. To concede anything in point of doctrine would negate the foundation of their system. The exorbitant claims which they uphold are an absolute bar to the reunion of Christendom. They contain the essence of the most obdurate sectarianism on the face of the earth. Undoubtedly, Protestantism has sinned grievously against the interests of church union. It is the Nemesis attaching to the Roman Catholic Church that her claim to dogmatic infallibility condemns her to the maximum sin against unity.

We have been dealing with the abberrations of the system. It has been quite foreign to our purpose to reflect on the piety of Roman Catholics. We make no question but that great multitudes of them belong to the truly spiritual fellowship.

THE FEELINGS IN RELIGION

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I HAVE been thinking a great deal lately about the feelings in religion. Perhaps it is because the quiet life always causes the mind to turn to a more serious consideration of the inner experiences, and perhaps it is because my reading for the past six months has seemed to lead to such contradictory conclusions. Here was John Wesley, the sanest evangelist that ever walked the earth, berating those who minimize the feelings in religious experience, and, on the other hand, here was Borden P. Bowne, a great Christian philosopher, penning solemn warnings against the overemphasis of the importance of the feelings in religion. And each seemed to prove his case.

Of course, so far as they are concerned, a careful reader will end by perceiving that they were not really so far apart as they seemed. Historical background accounts for a great deal in the realm of theological and spiritual emphasis. John Wesley stressed the inner aspects of Christianity because he lived and worked in a time of barren religious formalism. "The State Church had fallen a prey to sacerdotalism and religious mechanism." People seriously concerned about their sins were taken to a physician to be bled, and one man was haled before the magistrate simply because he dared to affirm that his sins were forgiven. It is no wonder, then, that Wesley preached the necessity of experiencing a living faith, "a sure trust and confidence in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favor of God"; that he dwelt upon the love of God shed abroad in the heart, the peace of God which passeth all understanding, and joy in the Holy Ghost; and that he said, "These are some of those inward fruits of the Spirit which must be *felt,* wheresoever they are; and without these I cannot learn, from Holy Writ, that any man is 'born of the Spirit.' "

Professor Bowne, on the contrary, occupied his chair at Boston at a time of widespread popular confusion about the whole

matter of salvation. Not only did many err in overemphasizing the emotional aspects of religion, but they sorely blundered in attempting to standardize the emotional experience. As Dr. Bowne says, they did not distinguish between experiencing religion and experiencing theology. Furthermore, in considering the phenomena of conversion, they failed to take into account wide differences in temperament and previous life.

In consequence, good and true men were torturing themselves in the vain attempt to attain a certain type of experience, and noble souls were wandering in darkness because they could not make their feelings square with the vocabulary of conventional piety. And so it is not surprising that Professor Bowne consecrated his rare genius to the sane interpretation of the Christian life, and said, "We are not called upon to have experiences, or emotional upheavals, or witnesses of the Spirit; but we are called upon to surrender ourselves in faith and humility to do the will of God. Cease to do evil, learn to do well, is the only infallible test of conversion."

And so it seems to me that those two attitudes or points of view, brought together and merged, contain the key to the whole troublesome question. The feelings are an essential part of religion because they are an essential part of human life. Every attempt to sub-divide man into independent compartments has resulted in absolute failure. Even modern psychology, with its rejection of the general powers, such as memory, imagination, and reason, and its sub-division of the mind into countless special operations or functions, is being criticized as particularistic and misleading. "The fruit of every one of our intellectual powers is markedly affected by the emotions behind them and interfused with them. . . . Some crisis may open a hidden reservoir from which power now flows into a man's every act." And what is religious conversion but such a crisis, involving every part of the personality? "It is not merely a moral change, a reform in conduct or in temper, but a change in his personal relation to One who is over all." Therefore, it is just as futile to think of religion without feeling as it is to think of friendship or patriotism or art without feeling. All the talk about an emotionless Christianity is

mere nonsense. The difference between the derelict who is swept into the higher life on a flood tide of soul agony and the cultured gentleman who quietly invests his all in the service of Christ is largely one of emotional intensity and expression. William James's definition of conversion is worth quoting once more because it is that of a psychologist: "To be converted, to be regenerated, to receive grace, to experience religion, to gain assurance, are so many phrases which denote the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self hitherto divided, and consciously wrong, inferior, and unhappy, becomes unified, and consciously right, superior and happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities."

I don't like his word "happy." It suggests an emotional something that is not essential to the Christian experience at all. The Scripture words peace and joy far more accurately express the reality. But his definition does emphasize that which needs emphasis, namely, that a vital religious experience does include the sensibilities. Of course the sudden, violent type of conversion accentuates the change, just as it is liable to intensify the emotional aspects of conversion, but it is not necessary in order to make the feelings either definite or strong. The "peace that passeth understanding" does not readily lend itself to definition or description, but it is no less a reality. With some it involves an apparent transformation of the whole universe. With others it is simply a quiet sense of being in harmony with God and self. But with all it is a fact. God is present in the consciousness in an entirely new and meaningful way. I have always felt that there is a superb spiritual significance in the closing paragraph of Dr. Bowne's illuminating chapter on "The Christian Life." After guarding against every possible error and strengthening us against "the emphasis on conversion as a special emotional experience with striking psychological attendants," he concludes with these rich sentences: "Yet though we walk by faith and not by sight God is always with us. . . . And he does not leave himself without a witness in the soul. We have indeed to plod along the dusty road of daily routine, yet not without a growing sense that we are not alone, and that the Spirit of Christ is with us in the way."

The trouble comes when the feelings are made the dominant

and decisive elements in religion. The emphasis of the mystical always tends, in primitive types of mind, toward seeking certain emotional experiences merely for themselves. They are made an end, instead of a means to an end, and what is more fatal still, the part finally becomes the whole. Dr. Fosdick says tartly that with some people prayer itself becomes a debauch. That is not the worst of it. The supreme tragedy lies in the fact that the debauch is looked upon as the equivalent of the Christian life. Such people inevitably deceive themselves by thinking that they *are* religious simply and solely because, at certain times and under certain stimuli, they *feel* religious. One does not need to be a student of psychology to prognosticate the end of such a perversion of the teachings of Jesus. It is a mere truism that any emotion, however exalted, that is not translated into action has a disastrous effect upon human character. No man can go on with a chasm between his ideals and his conduct, without serious results. I had a man in one of my churches who really was for a long time a power in the devotional meeting. His splendid voice, wide acquaintance with the Bible and the old hymns, and his contagious enthusiasm, combined with a delightful personality, made him a real leader in the prayer meeting and evangelistic services. One young lady cited him as her ideal of a "spiritual man." Unfortunately, however, as I found out later, his exalted emotions had no ethical root or fruit. *They* were his religious life, and led to no change in private or public morality. Consequently, he ended by losing a religion which, as Jonathan Edwards puts it, he never really had. Such men prove to us beyond question that the feelings were intended as aids to action, and that "it is a perilous thing to separate feeling from action."

At the opposite extreme from the man who would make an emotional orgy the equivalent of the Christian life is the man who would make the presence or absence of certain feelings the test of the Christian life. This is a point upon which I can speak with a degree of freedom because I am one of those to whom God has seen fit to manifest himself in very definite ways. I know the very spot where and the very time when His Spirit told me my sins were forgiven. The experience was as vivid as any I ever

had in my life. Moreover, I would contend for its validity with my last breath. If that was a case of neuropathology, then this universe is a mad-house. Crowd psychology had nothing to do with it, for I was alone. And the law of expectation cannot explain it as an illusion, for I was thinking of something entirely different at the time.

I would be the last man on earth, however, to insist upon such an experience as essential to the beginning of the Christian life, or to affirm that the permanence of the feelings of peace and joy constituted the only valid evidence of a permanent oneness with God. In my recent rereading of the life of Wesley, two or three things about him have been brought out in bold relief. One is that the "peace of God" and the "joy in the Holy Ghost" which he stressed so vigorously were by no means "stabilized" in his own soul at the time of his extraordinary experience at Aldersgate street. The very next day, he says, he was tempted because there was not a more sensible change. Several days later he was troubled because he "waxed in peace but not in joy." And in October of that year, five months after his heart was strangely warmed, after his visit to Germany, he writes in his journal, "I have not that joy in the Holy Ghost; no settled lasting joy: nor have I such a peace as excludes the possibility either of fear or doubt." As Professor Winchester points out, not until he stopped his continual introspection and began his field preaching did he cease being troubled about himself. Another thing is that he told the members of the societies to pay no attention to feelings of depression and doubt. At one time, in preaching on "Cast not away your confidence, which hath great recompense of reward," he said, "Ye who have known and felt your sins forgiven cast not away your confidence though your joy should die away, your love wax cold, and your peace itself be roughly assaulted." Another thing is that, in those extreme cases where troubled souls believed themselves forsaken of God, he refused to accept the findings of the feelings at all. He prayed until, in almost every instance, faith and peace were restored.

The fact is that these particular feelings are the variable element in the Christian life, not only as between individuals, but in

the same individual. They "change with the changing skies," because they are intimately related to the nervous system, the physical condition, and the state of the mind. Some saints have been granted the unutterable privilege of unbroken peace and joy from the hour of conversion till the hour of dissolution. Other saints, equally consecrated, have been buffeted with doubts and fears throughout their lives, and some have known the bitterness of continued melancholy. So, while the feelings which relate us to our fellow men can be used as a fairly accurate test of our religion, the purely individualistic feelings cannot. If a man claim to be a follower of Christ and hate his brother man, we know, as John says, that he is a liar. Even here, however, the love which is to control us is a matter of the will, not of the emotions. And a man may for months at a time be dedicating himself to doing the will of God with a minimum or an entire absence of joy. Even the sense of the presence of God fluctuates. Many a loyal disciple is compelled to say, as did Cranmer before his martyrdom, "He comes and he goes."

The present period is one of under emphasis rather than over emphasis of the affectional element in Christianity. The preaching is splendid. Hoyt says it never was better. But of a vast amount of it one might say what Wesley said of the preaching in Scotland—it would no more bring about a radical change in the lives of the hearers than would the singing of a lark. Our congregations are models of decorum. It is very seldom that anything happens to disturb our sense of the proprieties. When, at the close of my evening sermon in one large city church, a man uttered a great cry and flung himself down at the altar in a paroxysm of penitence, I thought several of the audience would faint. In politics, war, and amusements we utilize our crowd psychology in a positive way. We gather great masses together and deliberately rouse them to the deeds of sacrifice and bursts of enthusiasm. In religion we use our crowd psychology solely in a negative way. In seeking to avoid the excesses of emotional contagion, we lose its finest and fullest fruition. We remember that "strong emotion inhibits reason" and forget the equally important fact that weak emotion inhibits action. "No heart is pure that is not passionate; no

virtue is safe that is not enthusiastic." Right well did Begbie appropriate those words of Seeley's and make them into the motto of his amazing book, "Twice Born Men."

The remedy does not lie in a return to the methods of Wesley's day, or to those of any other day. It lies in an appeal so comprehensive that it will reach every element in human personality and so compelling that it will result in the thorough conversion of the whole man. It is high time the modern church capitalized its knowledge of emotional psychology for the salvation of those who can be reached in no other way. "There are men and women who are held back from decision for God through the power of a worldly public opinion in which they live and from which they do not have native force enough to break away; or they are shut up within the narrow and putrid lagoon of some vice, and notwithstanding their conviction of sin and resolution to be done with it, have not the volitional force to escape into the open sea. Men such as these are carried over this 'bar' by the great wave of religious emotion that surges and swells in a revival meeting. When they are once over the bar, they are safe." But along with this, as Stevens says, the church must exercise its teaching function to guard against fanaticism and emotional excesses.

The religion of the inner life is the only religion worthy the name. But, as has been affirmed a great many times, man's experience of Christ cannot be run into a mold. In conversion the essential thing, after all, is the surrender of the will and life to God. And in the subsequent life the essential thing is conscious obedience to the will of God. The feelings ebb and flow, even with the most saintly. The only adequate tests of one's experience are ethical. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Upon that, Wesley and Bowne and all other sane religious leaders are agreed. And of one thing the man who earnestly devotes himself to such a life can be sure. Whether or not the passing years bring an increase of mountain-top experiences, they will assuredly bring a deepening joy in service, a growing sense of the divine power. And when all the storms of life are over, his end will be peace. The faith that weathers the mutability of feelings and rests firmly upon the eternal verities hath its reward.

THE THEOLOGY OF OLIN ALFRED CURTIS

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When on the 8th of January, 1918, the spirit of Olin Alfred Curtis left his always frail tenement of clay to be with the Lord, one of the most notable men of Methodism and one of the most profoundly Christian men of this age had entered into rest. This is true whether we think of him as preacher, as teacher, or as theologian. As a preacher he was liberally endowed with oratorical power. His studies carried him throughout the full range of literature and life, while his passionate love of people gave him ready access to the lives of his parishioners in every walk of life. It is certain that, had he continued in the pastorate, these qualities would have held him steadily in a place of most commanding influence. When he exchanged the pulpit for the class room, the preacher was never quite submerged in the teacher. Many a time have his pupils gone out from the class room under the spell of truth presented with the rarest combination of sheer teaching power and oratorical skill. But he was always teacher. With deep sympathy and penetrating insight, he preserved, as few teachers are able to do, the point of contact with his pupils from beginning to end of his course. Quick to observe the awakening of special interest on the part of any student in his own peculiar field, systematic theology, he gave himself in unstinted measure to the fostering of that interest. As a result many a student carries among the most cherished memories of his life the long evening hours in which he was the special and only guest of the great teacher. It was on such occasions that his soul was opened and the wonderful range of his knowledge of life, in nature, in men, and in books, became apparent. In his own field he seemed to know everything and everybody. He was accustomed to classify men with the same frankness with which he did books. But even where he differed most widely he held always a profound and reverent appreciation of any piece of really genuine work. Especially was it apparent that any point of difference was not due to any

failure on his part to deeply understand. And when, the interview over, the student stepped forth in meditative mood, the conviction deepened that, whatever the truth of many things discussed might prove to be, he had come forth from the presence of one whose whole soul was engaged in search after and seizure of the highest truth which can engage the mind of man.

In these private interviews Dr. Curtis had a twofold purpose. Never did he forget that he was dealing primarily with those who were to preach. He was ambitious to undergird every preacher with a philosophy of Christianity which would keep his message true in all the varied phases of his pulpit and pastoral labors. To do this he felt that it was necessary to build a bulwark against the invasion of the spirit of the age. But his spirit was not one of antagonism to the age, but rather of independence of it. He believed that the one safety for the preacher was a perfect understanding of essential Christianity. The spirit of the age would change from time to time, but this would abide. His conception of the task set him as a teacher of theology was to gain for himself and to impart to others this understanding. That such an understanding would best be achieved by relating the separate items of the Christian faith in one organic whole was never a matter of doubt in his mind. So firm was his conviction at this point that he believed the best apologetic for Christianity to be just a clear statement of its organic meaning. He was, therefore, anxious to give a theological message having preaching power. It was this purpose which kindled his eager interest in the preacher of philosophical bent.

But this did not exhaust his motive. He was also eagerly searching for the man who might possibly become especially qualified to carry his studies forward in a more technical manner and thus become equipped to take his place in the class room as teacher of theology. For such he not only poured out the full riches of his life in special interviews, as we have already mentioned, but he also arranged his seminar of advanced studies. Many of these hold him in most grateful remembrance and some are filling theological positions of great importance with rare acceptability, no small part of which they gladly ascribe to the master.

Mention is made of these personal characteristics of Professor Curtis, in part as an acknowledgment of a personal indebtedness, but chiefly because, more than any theologian of whom the writer has knowledge, an understanding of the man is essential to an understanding of his theology. In The Christian Faith we have a system of theology personally given. Of deliberate and set purpose, Dr. Curtis has woven the very fabric of his own soul into his system. He tells us that he has even sacrificed consistency here and there lest even some flashing and fugitive mood should escape him. This means that in his work the personal equation, always a large factor, is deliberately made to bulk larger than is usual.

Especially must this personal equation be taken into account in estimating the fitness of his theology for the age in which we live. He has no sympathy for the "doctrinal mitigations" of the mediating theologians. As for science, if it conflict with essential Christianity, so much the worse for science. Two passages may serve to illustrate this:

"Systematic theology should never be an intentional apology. There ought not to be in it even the tiniest trace of mediation tactics. Rather should it be so steeped with the Christian severities—with all those Christian peculiarities which tax the natural man—as to be positively obnoxious to any man who is not straining himself in moral endeavor. A negative test of a worthy systematic theology would be that its important message had incurred the dislike of two sorts of men, those who have a slender ethical purpose, and those who are trying to make Christianity 'easier for this scientific age.' But the man who is morally open to Christian appeal, the man whose heart is breaking under an impossible moral burden, the man who prefers to confess that his life is a moral failure rather than to compromise with any utilitarian makeshift—if that man can be led to perceive the doctrinal continuity, the undersweeping granite ledge of the Christian system, he will find the apologetics he needs for conviction." (The Christian Faith, pp. 183, 184.)

"A striking evidence of the success with which science has eaten into the very vitals of Christian opinion is seen in the typical modern Christian view of death, and even of the death of Christ." (Ibid., p. 205.)

These passages, standing alone, might seem to justify the conclusion that their author had a mind in the most complete antagonism to everything modern. And this is, of course, sufficiently "obnoxious" to every modern man, indeed, one might say, to every man, for who would wish to be classified with the fossils

of a bygone age! But this hasty judgment reveals the most complete misunderstanding of Dr. Curtis. To make this clear, place the following beside the two passages just quoted:

> "Evolution as a theory of natural science, aiming to furnish an account of phenomenal relations in nature, I can receive, and receive with enthusiastic gratitude toward such naturalists as Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace." (Ibid., p. 7.)

Surely a man who can give to the scientific theory of evolution not a doubting, hesitant, or grudging acceptance, but can give it acceptance with "enthusiastic gratitude," may fairly be claimed for this modern world and ought not to be relegated to the museum of antiquities. The fact is that Dr. Curtis was keenly alive to the entire modern situation in every part of it. It is even true that in the main he was in harmony with what it had to offer. His attitude was not one of opposition, but of independence. In this distinction lies the key to any fruitful understanding of him. That he is in pronounced opposition to the whole mediating element in modern theology is most evident. But this is not because he objects to science, but rather because he believes that science herself will be found ultimately to require no such surrender. Deeper than the apparent conflict lies this ultimate harmony; for the truth of nature and the truth of revelation cannot be in real conflict. But for the theologian the road to the discovery of that deeper unity is not found in an eager haste to surrender things vital to the Christian faith. But if he will not take orders from science, neither will he give orders to science. "The Bible," he says, "is not a final authority upon any scientific question. The opinions of the author of the book of Job on natural history are not and in the nature of the case cannot be binding upon the Christian church." (Ibid., p. 174.) If now we add to this that in his discussion of regions of liberty he gives full and untrammeled freedom to Christian scholarship, it becomes apparent that he is not in any sense fighting a futile battle against the right of human progress, whether in the realm of science or of religion.

The task, then, which Dr. Curtis gave himself was to set forth in a system the truth of Christianity. When I say that he did this in independence of the spirit of the age, I do not mean that he

regarded the realm of Christian truth to be out of all relation to the great scientific movements of the age in which we live. On the contrary, he regarded truth as one and central. Every truth is in reality harmoniously adjusted to every other truth. But the present situation has developed a seeming conflict. Toward this conflict there are two possible attitudes. One, which Dr. Curtis calls the mediating, seeks to discover the minimum of Christian truth and rather prides itself in a large and liberal giving up of the things once commonly believed among Christians. The other, not slavishly retaining things non-essential, holds with giant grasp the great Christian verities. Of course, this might be just a begging of the whole question. For the question raised requires the determination of the content of these same Christian verities. But as things are this is at most only partially true. Surely anyone can see the difference between an approach from within the faith, which views the outer world neither with suspicion nor with fear, but, in the assurance of faith, lays bare its own throbbing heart and waits, when necessary, for the world to come to it, and a more or less panic-stricken approach, which says, in effect at least, the only way to save Christianity is to surrender everything demanded and then show how well we may live on an irreducible minimum. Dr. Curtis cared for the inexpressible maximum. And, inasmuch as no thinker can be wholly free from bias, Dr. Curtis will frankly accept the Christian bias.

Moreover, the great breadth of the mind of Dr. Curtis is evidenced from the fact that he had no desire to impose his theological views upon anyone by way of authority. For confirmation of this let the reader study carefully pages 183-188 of his book The Christian Faith. For any who may not have access to the book, a single quotation must suffice:

"If you have fully caught my conception, you can readily see that a genuine systematic theology is a work having no formal authority whatever. It is a mistake, I think, to call it dogmatics, or to give it any ecclesiastical position, or in any way to relate it to doctrinal lordship. It is not your ruler, but your friend, trying to make Christianity satisfy your entire manhood, by bringing out all profound moral connections, and by showing that the redemption in Jesus Christ's atonement is the one key to all there is in the universe. Saint Paul himself began to indicate the

province of systematic theology, for he could not keep from philosophical thinking in his greater epistles; but he expressed the real spirit of the matter when he said, 'Not that we have lordship over your faith, but are helpers of your joy.' " (The Christian Faith, pp. 187, 188.)

There are two parts of Dr. Curtis's work as a theologian in which his vitality is unsurpassed. The first is his treatment of man as a moral, social, and racial person. Never does he forget that "the sinner is a man." And in the first one hundred and forty-one pages of his book he has given as profound a study of man as can be found anywhere in like compass, a study which has no equal in Methodist theology. The underlying philosophy is plainly and confessedly that of Professor Bowne; but it is given an expression of such searching power as to lift the moral person into not only the revealing light of responsibility, but also into the profound conviction that, in order to meet the demand of his expanding moral task, he must have help. Herein lies the weakness of personal morality, or, as our theologian would say, its "profound flaw." *"This flaw is the accretion of imperfect motive.* Our initial motive may be splendid in its purity; but as we use it accretion after accretion is formed until our deed comes into port like a ship out of the tropics incrusted with barnacles. There are in man's natural experience few things so utterly impossible as to do a great moral deed and keep it clean in all its relations to self-consciousness. In spite of all you can do, your mood will slip and some taint will steal in, and the very man who launched his deed in righteousness will sail it with a lower purpose." It is this which produces the moral despair out of which the Saviour alone can lift a man.

But this moral person does not stand in isolation. He belongs to the race of mankind. Now this apparently commonplace statement has profound significance in the theology of Professor Curtis. Nowhere is there the least wavering in the demand that the salvation of the moral person be ethical through and through. But salvation is racial also. "The one man, the individual person, is saved, but not alone—he is saved with others, by means of others, for others, *into others*—he is saved *in brotherhood.* . . . In a word, the final aim is to save separate men in such a way that the

final result will be a racial brotherhood of moral persons." (The Christian Faith, pp. 140-141.) We shall find the vital throb of this racial conception everywhere in the theology we are studying, while it gives the name to and furnishes all that is unique in his theory of atonement.

The other point of special vitality lies in the view that the purpose of the incarnation was redemptive. It was not primarily to reveal God. It was to perform a great redemptive deed. It is for this that the Son abandons "the glory he had with the Father before the world was" to become man. There are not two persons involved in the incarnation, the one God and the other a man. There is but one person involved, the eternal Son of God, who becomes man. His view of this process is kenotic. But the point I wish to stress now is that, according to Curtis, the full personality in Christ is the personality of the only Son of God. The process by which he became man, however it may be explained, is not normal or natural, but abnormal and miraculous. It is a tremendous and awful sacrifice on the part of God, made not to tell man about God, nor to reveal any number of interesting truths, but made in order that the moral salvation of mankind might be possible. "The whole ethical intensity of Christianity can be expressed in a sentence: The redemption of man has cost God a miraculous sacrifice which is never, never to end." (Ibid., p. 167.)

It goes without saying that such a sacrifice would never have been made except under compulsion of the most compelling necessity. This necessity is found in the fall of man and the estrangement from God which followed that dire event. But the obstacle which redemption must overcome lies not in man alone. There is a deeper necessity for atonement in the very nature of God himself. God cannot go out on a fragment of his being, but must give expression to his total nature. The eager love which seeks to redeem is holy love. And in the process the whole hatred of God toward sin must find expression as well as his wondrous love of the sinner. The history of the incarnation is the history of this great achievement.

To Dr. Curtis the fall of man was a terrible reality. The

Scripture account of the creation and fall is a world tradition based upon historic facts, but not to be taken in bald literalism. This account was cleansed and indorsed for its redemptional meaning. When this meaning is really understood it disposes of the mystery of evil. Moral personality involves the possibility of moral evil. "God did not want transgression, but *he did want the possibility of it,* because he wanted personal sainthood. *All evil in possibility is the awful price which had to be paid for any personal sainthood.*" (Ibid., p. 198.)

The fall of man, then, was the historic realization of this possibility of evil. Man put self before God, preferred his own will to the will of God. The consequences of this are threefold. There is first the guilt which always accompanies personal sin. This, however, can fall only upon the one who sins. Second, there is individual depravity. By individuality Dr. Curtis means the whole complex of native characteristics. By depravity he means that this individuality is, in consequence of man's transgression, inorganic. But this is not all. There is racial sin. "Precisely as the individual is inorganic, so the race is inorganic." The race is a broken brotherhood. Not only is the individual born depraved; not only are many living in personal sin; but, also, the race has lost its center of immediate companionship with God.

Now the attitude of God toward sin is one of intentional hatred. That hatred finds expression in depravity, in the broken brotherhood, and also in the natural world. Nature, too, is a broken organism. But the climax of all of God's hatred of sin is death—just bodily death. It is necessary to hold this firmly in mind. It is through death that the whole Adamic race is to be destroyed. Moreover, death expresses "in every movement of its loathsome and appalling process God's boundless hatred of sin." He makes much of this in his racial theory of atonement. Its importance may justify an extended quotation:

"The entire bearing in death and depravity can, I think, be expressed in this way: God so loves man that he will himself pay the most costly price for man's salvation; but he so hates sin that he must secure, at every step of the way, a most extraordinary and even abnormal expression of his holy hatred. Man can be saved because God loves him, but the path of salvation must be one violently out of course. Thus we may say that

depravity, and the broken race, and the wrench of nature, and the death of men—culminating in the death of our Lord—all manifest God's hatred of sin, but they manifest that hatred in an awful background from which stands out the infinite love of God toward men." (Ibid., p. 205.)

This then is the racial theory. Let us ponder the author's own definition:

"Jesus Christ, as the representative Race-Man, endured in his death the precise racial penalty for human sin; and by the total event and experience under that penalty so expressed God's hatred of sin as to render possible the immediate foundation and gradual formation of a new race of men which shall at last perfectly manifest the moral love of God. The atonement is exactly in the death of Christ, if regarded in this comprehensive way." (Ibid., p. 329.)

In this view we have preserved the inner movement, *the very heart,* of the great historic theories. It is, however, no longer the eclectic method which Professor Curtis pursued for several years. It is not even a vital fusion of selected elements of each. It is something higher than that. It is a new grasp, following a fresh vision from the hills overlooking Marburg. Whether we are to find ourselves in final agreement with Curtis or not, we need to remember this for the protection of our own understanding, lest, for example, when we meet such a term as penalty we think of that unreal hocus pocus which is too apt to attach itself to the satisfaction theory. But in that theory, beneath the formal contention, there is deep vitality. That Jesus was not a sinner and not personally punished is clear. It was in his official, representative character that he bore the racial penalty. But while for Dr. Curtis himself the word penalty has this deep significance in the experience of Jesus, still he does not insist upon its use, being content "if you only firmly hold the idea that our Lord's death was a racial event through and through."

But in guarding against a possible misunderstanding, I do not wish to minimize or to in any degree break the force of our author's real position. It should not escape us that in this racial event there was involved the real and intentional abandonment of the Son by the Father.

"The plain fact is that God the Father *intended* that his Son should pass through this awful experience of isolation, and had insisted upon it

in the garden. With his Son he was ever well pleased, but now his Son does not stand in his own single selfhood. His Son is the Redeemer, the representative Race-Man, standing in death for a race of sinners, and the Father's attitude is an attitude of holiness toward the entangled entirety of the atoning situation. I am, after long, shrinking hesitation, unable to escape the conclusion that the Son of God, as the racial Mediator, met in the beginning of the isolation of his death the whole shock of the wrath of God against sin, that he was treated precisely as any sinner is treated. His death was more than the tearing apart of body and soul; his death had in its experience the extreme ethical content of personal isolation." (Ibid., p. 323.)

This costly sacrifice expresses the moral concern of God. In this moral concern lies the atonement. But the atonement itself is not an end, but a means to an end. That end is the organization of the new race. "The death of Christ satisfies God because it is an emphasis upon moral concern unto the actual salvation of the human race as a race. . . . Thus the divine satisfaction is not in the pure moral stress of the atonement, but rather in the total content and bearing of the atonement as a potent ethical emphasis rapidly provisional for the ultimate manifestation of all God is." (Ibid., p. 328.)

At this point I must remind the reader that with Curtis the full deity of Christ is never in question. Not only is he trinitarian, but the three persons of the Trinity have each full self-consciousness. His view is a large and splendid elaboration of a suggestion of Professor Bowne. There is not one drop of unitarianism in any form, not one drop of agnosticism, not one drop of vagueness. It is God himself who makes the costly sacrifice by which men are redeemed. The mediating theologians strain every point to make the process normal; Professor Curtis strains to the very breaking point to make it abnormal.

In his development of the *ordo salutis* he follows the historic trend of Methodism. If there is anywhere a finer putting of the total emphasis and spirit of that great movement, my reading has not discovered it. The racial sweep in all his thinking qualified him in a peculiar way to lift the social concern of the church into its true light. Always there is the shining goal, the perfect brotherhood in Christ, *the new race*. Toward this final brotherhood the family, the nation, and the church are three different ventures.

The bond which binds the family into a beautiful unity is not the separate interest of each member, sought in selfish isolation, but rather the common good of all. Each comes to his highest in the pursuit of that common good. So the nation is not a union for material benefit, but a union whose aim is moral brotherhood, whose every law and every institution should therefore be for the benefit of all. On this high plane the nation takes common ground with the church. For the office of the church is not to separate certain noble elements from the mass of the ignoble, but rather to so leaven the mass as to make it noble. It is not to gather a few broken fragments out of a hopeless wreck, but the redemption and reorganization of these fragments into a glorious unity in Christ Jesus. Broken fragments which cannot be fitted into this new organism must indeed be cast off. For the view we are dealing with is not akin to universalism. But it is this principle of solidarity, introduced and emphasized in the family and in the nation, which the church insists must apply to all mankind: "All mankind redeemed in Jesus Christ is the final family and the final nation." Moreover, we are to seek its realization even in this world. A concrete example of this task of the church is found in the struggle of the laboring man toward a better social position. The deep, underlying motive of that struggle is the hunger for brotherhood. This the church should meet with sympathy and "should find some way to convince the working man that the church of Jesus Christ is the very brotherhood which he needs. But it is not much use to try to convince him until we ourselves more nearly realize the Christian ideal, and really are such a brotherhood." (Ibid., p. 442.)

This realization upon earth, however closely it may approximate, can never reach the goal. For this there is required the life to come. It is there, and there alone, that the full community of the redeemed may be gathered. "This vast community of perfect brothers, all saved by Jesus Christ, all organized by Jesus Christ, all living in communion with Jesus Christ, *is his race in full fact.*" (Ibid., p. 456.)

In concluding this study, which necessarily omits many matters of deep significance, I would hazard no prophecy as to the

place Dr. Curtis will take in the thought of the church of the future. That he wrote with an eye to a verdict beyond the dominant life of the church of to-day, scarcely need be said. But divergences from the current of this dominant life, even where they may not and, perhaps, ought not to be approved, should not blind us to his profound Christian grasp or to the "undersweeping granite ledge" upon which his system really rests. It may be that he has overestimated the importance of certain features, as, for example, the significance of bodily death. My allotted space forbids my arguing the question here. But it seems to me that every vital element of his profound racial grasp may be preserved, together with a deepening of the meaning of death, so that the physical shall appear nothing more than the symbol, deeply significant as such, of the spiritual event.

The same sort of feeling comes to one also in reading Dr. Curtis's view of the Bible. I am unable to escape the feeling that the theory is not built upon a sufficiently sound inductive basis. At the same time I am deeply sympathetic with the motive which has prompted its formation, which would appear to have been the protection of the Christian worth of the book. That there is an inexorable Christian demand that the Book of God be seen in its unique and solitary grandeur, I do not doubt. Only I would say that it should come out of a calm and frank facing of every discoverable fact which the most thoroughgoing study of the book may reveal. We will then know the book God gave us, instead of speculating as to the sort of book God ought to have given us. Nor do I believe that Dr. Curtis would deny the validity of this principle. But in our time critical studies are in a state of flux and uncertainty. Dr. Curtis discerned here the same mediating tendency against which he set himself everywhere. For himself, he would make surrender of not a single Christian verity. His difficulty lay in lack of adequate technical knowledge in the field of Old Testament scholarship. Yet, when all discounts are made, he has at least suggested a direction which may yet be found fruitful in our understanding and treatment of the Bible.

Nor should it be forgotten that in days of controversy minor matters tend to assume undue proportions and have at-

tached to them an exaggerated importance. But of Dr. Curtis it may truthfully be said that he lived, moved, and had his being in Christianity's very heart. The excrescences of controversial days will fall away, but "the things which cannot be shaken" will remain. Great events come, sometimes unexpectedly, to the aid of this process and lay bare the granite foundations upon which these abiding things rest. That the present world upheaval has done this for the great central doctrine of Christianity, the atonement, is beyond dispute. Henceforth no cheap, unethical conception of God as love can endure. He is Holy Love, and the love which flows forth from his heart is holy. This is but to say, with Curtis, that God must give expression to his total nature. And while it would be rash to say that any man's special or peculiar emphasis in explanation is thereby approved, it is not too much to say that here we touch the watershed of the great divide. Nor is it too much to hope that at last the changed atmosphere of the world may prove more hospitable to the Redeeming Lord. In the new day no substitute for the Divine Redeemer, who saves unto a world brotherhood here and a new race hereafter, will be accepted. And here we touch the vital center in the theology of Olin Alfred Curtis. Whatever things may be removed, surely this must remain.

THE FAITH AND UNFAITH OF JOHN KEATS (1821-1921)

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THE centenary of the death of John Keats is bringing forth a succession of warm tributes from many sources and that in journals not only literary but religious. The fact is significant. Keats is not among the religious poets. It would be a foolish hazard to attempt to place him there. Yet if poetry like his can be produced without something of the nature of religion in its very substance, then religion is not what many of us conceive it to be.

The poetic gift fell with strange inconsequence upon John Keats. The son of an ungifted London stable-keeper who married the commonplace daughter of his employer—how came he to be a favorite of the muses? Hereditarians are baffled. Yet, as is its wont, genius found itself and its appropriate nourishment. In the fields of Enfield and Edmonton nature marked him for her own; at school the fascinations of language and mythology mastered him; at length a copy of Edmund Spenser fell into his hands. And the thing was done. The poet *born* became the poet *made*.

The sadly brief and troubled life of Keats is one of the threnodies of literary history, yet it was not without its high hopes and keen delights and genuine achievements. His boyhood, marked by sensitiveness, affection, high-spiritedness, pugnacity, his passionate mourning for his mother, who died when he was fifteen, leaving him an orphan, reveal one of those extremely sensitive natures such as art can mold to its own ends. A venture in the direction of medicine led him as far as to a completed apprenticeship, and in 1816 he received a license as an apothecary. But it was a spiritless pursuit to a caged eagle. Poetry had laid her hand upon him and to her he was bound as a life apprentice. Hers was no light one. Spenser, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton—these were

his masters and from each he received inestimable gain, yet at no mean cost.

His adventures in the field of authorship began early. With the encouragement given him by Leigh Hunt, he published his first volume, entitled "Poems," in 1817, at the age of twenty-two. It signaled the advent of a poet of the highest promise, already passing into substantial performance in such poems as "I Stood Tiptoe upon a Little Hill," "Sleep and Poetry" and the sonnets "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer," "On the Grasshopper and Cricket" and others. But the little volume was too delicate and ethereal a piece of art for either the public or the critics, and they both paid it that most galling of condemnations—silence. The pearls were cast before swine and they quickly trampled them under foot, yet did not turn again to rend him until after the publication of his next and more ambitious work, that "stretched meter of an antique song," Endymion. This was begun in the spring of 1817,

> "Now while the early budders are just new,
> And run in mazes of the youngest hue
> About old forests,"

and finished, as he prayed, before winter:

> "O may no wintry season, bare and hoary,
> See it half finished; but let autumn bold,
> With universal tinge of sober gold,
> Be all about me when I make an end."

Few summer suns have ripened such a purple vintage of imagination and fancy. The poem depicts the poet's pursuit of immortal beauty under the guise of the familiar Greek myth of the love of "Endymion" for the moon-goddess. Masterly as it is, as a creation of poetic imagination it is not without its serious faults, making it in places hardly more than a "weedy wilderness," as Swinburne called it. These faults, indeed, were freely acknowledged by the author himself in a deprecatory preface in which he spoke of it as showing "great inexperience, immaturity and every error denoting a feverish attempt rather than a deed accomplished." He even went so far as to allude to its "mawkishness"—a blemish which it would have been better to correct than to acknowledge.

Through these imperfections as well as its too obscure excellencies and also because of his literary associates, Keats fell a prey to a houndish, virulent, and insolent literary criticism which darkened that otherwise brilliant day of English literature. Blackwood's Magazine and the Quarterly Review led in a fusillade of vituperation as blind as it was vicious. The tradition, long current, that it was this attack that killed the sensitive young poet is, as Lord Houghton showed, an injustice to his true manliness, and has long since been set aside.

A sad conspiracy of troubles now gathered about the poet's head and broke over him one by one,

> "As if the vanward clouds of evil days
> Had spent their malice, and the sullen rear
> Was with its stored thunder labouring up."

The illness and death of his brother, whom he attended with true brotherly devotion; financial anxiety pressing hard upon him; ill health, gradually developing into unmistakable signs of tuberculosis, all befell him in rapid succession; and, worst of all, he fell in love. Worst of all, because the woman he loved was only "a little human It," unwilling and unable to help him in his sore distress and need.

In February, 1820, he had a hemorrhage of the lungs and took to his bed, and in September, as a last resort, under the advice of his friends and accompanied by Joseph Severn, the artist, he sailed for Italy, hoping against hope that under the soft Italian skies health and heart for his work might return.

The story of how the two took apartments in the Piazza di Spagna in Rome and their struggle to ward off death is a familiar one. Rent by passionate longing and the bitter sense of unfulfilled capacities, Keats sank into a deep despondency lightened only by the tender ministrations of his friend. The end came on the twenty-third of February, 1821, very quietly, Keats saying to Severn: "Don't be frightened; be firm and thank God it has come." He was buried in the Protestant cemetery near the tomb of Cestius. During his illness he told Severn that he thought that the purest pleasure he ever had had been to watch the growth of

flowers; and not long before his death he said: "I feel the flowers growing over me." And over him have grown his favorites the violets, amid the grass in that quiet spot in the sacred city, with Shelley, his brother poet, lying near.

To find a religious element in this hectic and broken life and in the sensuous pagan poetry of Keats may seem a strange and mistaken quest. And yet the religious element is often present when we little recognize it.

Let it be granted at the outset that Keats had not a religious nature. The consciousness of God seems not to have been his. To all appearances he is as pure a pagan, so far as any influence upon him of church or Bible is concerned, as if he had been bred in bright Hellas amid those myths of gods and heroes which so entranced his beauty-loving spirit. And yet he was no pure Greek—cool, classic, aloof. His spirit had been bathed in the warm light of romanticism which, however alien in some respects to Christianity, without Christianity and its enthusiasm for humanity could hardly have been.

Nor had Keats that catholic understanding of universal law which, according to Bacon, bringeth man's mind about to religion. His was neither the mystical, the reflective, nor yet the humanitarian mind. His knowledge of human life and his sympathy for it was limited. He had not the "years that bring the philosophic mind," nor that insight into the heart of humanity which begets the religious spirit. He had "tenderness," as Palgrave well says, but not sympathy.

To say that he was the typical poet would be unjust to poetry, for poetry has many types and temperaments; yet to call him *æsthete* would be a gross injustice to his larger and manlier powers and achievements. He had noble and pure ideals *and possessing these he was by that very fact and in so far religious.*

Keats had no creed, yet he had faith—a faith that burned at times clear and high and that never failed until sheer lack of physical fuel reduced it to glowing embers and at length almost to ashes. His faith was faith in Beauty, in the Beauty of Beauty. It came to him through a sense of Beauty as rich and affluent as it was

true and discerning—a compound of sensation and imagination. To ignore either of these gifts would be to miss his characteristic endowment. There is a well-known passage in one of his letters in which he writes: "I am certain of nothing but the holiness of the Heart's affections, and the truth of Imagination. . . . O for a life of sensations rather than thoughts!" What does he mean by a life of sensations? Clearly not pure sensations; nor yet, I think, what his biographer, Sidney Colvin, intends when he says: "What he means are intuitions of the mind and spirit as immediate as these, as thrillingly convincing and indisputable, as independent of all consecutive stages and formal processes of thinking." Intuitions are the very soul of truth, yet I doubt if they are what Keats meant by "sensations." Keats is in poetry what William James is in philosophy, the protagonist of empiricism. To him sensations are holy—yet only when imbued with thought. This he makes quite clear in a later letter when the truth had become clearer to himself: "The difference between high sensation with and without knowledge appears to me this: in the latter case we are falling continually ten thousand fathoms deep and being blown up again, without wings, and with all the horror of a bare-shouldered creature; in the former case our shoulders are fledged and we go through the same air and space without fear." This agrees with his own determination expressed as follows: "I find I can have no enjoyment in the world but the continual drinking of knowledge. I find there is no worthy pursuit but the idea of doing some good in the world. . . . There is but one way for me. The road lies through application, study, and thought. I will pursue it."

With this acuteness of sensation is blended an incomparable *imagination*—which may perhaps be defined as the power to re-realize, unify, and interpret sensations and, in its higher function of creative imagination, the power to *reconstruct sensations and inform them with ideas.* In its lighter function this is what Keats well terms "Fancy," by virtue of which we may sit in the ingle of a winter's night and

> "let winged Fancy wander
> Through the thought still spread beyond her."

Under the magic spell of this power of re-presentation,

> "Thou shalt, at one glance, behold
> The daisy and the marigold;
> White-plum'd lilies, and the first
> Hedge-grown primrose that hath burst;
> Shaded hyacinth, alway
> Sapphire queen of the Mid-May;
> And every leaf and every flower
> Pearléd with the self same shower."

These lighter feats of Fancy are Keats's very domain, but so, also, are the wider wings and loftier flights of the creative imagination such as appear in the glittering and gorgeous symbolism of "Endymion" and in the sober Miltonic measures of "Hyperion" (1820), attuned

> "To that large utterance of the early gods."

Beauty, as it revealed itself to him in all its supernal radiance, was for Keats no ephemeral thing fit only "for the silvering of a seraph's dream." It was an eternal, a heavenly reality, worthy the ardent search of one pursuing it through sky and earth and sea.

> "A thing of beauty is a joy forever."

This profound sense of the unfading and eternal nature of beauty haunts his poems like a dream, appearing in its most immortal form in the "Ode to a Grecian Urn":

> "Thou still unravish'd bride of quietness,
> Thou foster-child of silence and slow time,
> . . . . . .
> Thou, silent form, dost tease us out of thought
> As dost eternity."

In the "Ode to a Nightingale" the mind is carried on with the retreating song past meadow and stream and hillside—whither?

> "Thou wast not born for death, immortal bird,
> No hungry generations tread thee down.
> . . . . . .
> Fled is that music: Do I wake or sleep?"

Keats's faith in beauty was by no means that faith without works which is dead. It proved itself vital and fruitful by em-

bodying itself in art—the noble, fascinating, yet exacting art of poetry—a slender sheaf, but golden.

At the very outset of his career, enkindled by Homer and the great English masters, Keats formed an ideal of the art of poetry and of the high behest it had laid upon him which he never abandoned. In the Prologue and Epilogue of his first volume he discloses his conception of poetry and his own high hopes and aims, with a boyish but beautiful confidence which drooped in the bitter icy wind it had to encounter, but which never wholly failed him. Nothing is more striking in these early expressions of his art than that perfect wedding of thought and language to nature which is so characteristic an achievement of Keats.

> "In the calm grandeur of a sober line
> We see the waving of the mountain pine;
> And when a lute is beautifully staid,
> We feel the safety of a hawthorn glade."

There is no lasting stain upon the fealty of Keats to his ideal, though but few of the years for which he longed in order to complete his work were his when he wrote:

> "O for the years that I may overwhelm
> Myself in poesy; so I may do the deed
> That my own soul has to itself decreed."

The dawning of the consciousness that he might fail to fulfill his high commission has given us one of the most pathetic and beautiful of his sonnets, beginning

> "When I have fears that I may cease to be."

Yet high and sincere as it was, Keats's faith in beauty proved its insufficiency in the great crisis of his life, when the intense moral strain of adversity and illness overtook him. It failed him, not because it was false or misleading, but because it was partial and insufficient. It did not go down into the roots of character, giving support and strength for the heavy strain that finally broke his spirit. There are few more pathetic scenes in literary biography than that of poor Keats breathing out his defeated life in Rome in agony of body and soul, heartless and hopeless, cared

for only by that faithful friend, who has earned the gratitude of all lovers of true poetry and true humanity, Joseph Severn.

The picture of him which Severn has left in one of his letters is inexpressibly sad. "This noble fellow lying on the bed is dying in horror—no kind hope smoothing down his suffering—no philosophy—no religion to support him—yet with all the most gnawing desire for it—yet without the possibility of receiving it. . . . You'd be rejoiced to see how I am kept up—not a flinch yet—I read, cook, make the beds—and do all the menial offices—for no soul comes near Keats except the doctor and myself—yet I do all this with a cheerful heart—for I thank God my little but honest religion stays me up through all these trials."[1]

It is as needless as it would be paltry to moralize on the contrast between the faith of these two men. One need not affirm that Keats had "no religion" in order to see that he had not that kind of religion that carries one through great moral crises with serenity and calm.

Keats made the profound error which vitiated both his life and his poetry when, captivated by the true light of beauty, he thought it the one true light, sufficient for all the needs of life—an error embalmed in the familiar closing lines of the "Ode to a Grecian Urn":

> "Beauty is truth, truth beauty,—that is all
> Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know."

A life philosophy so scant and imperfect as that is bound to fail when the rains descend and the floods beat.

Keats's faith in beauty and in poetry was his glory and crown, yet it was isolated and bedimmed by the lack of faith in God, in humanity, and in himself, so sadly epitomized in the well-known inscription he requested for his grave-stone, "Here lies one whose name is writ in water." How profoundly time has rebuked that despairing cry of a life that thought itself deserted and defeated and fruitless—and was not! His life, like his greatest poem, "Hyperion," was an unfinished fragment, but, like "Hyperion," it has taken its place among the treasured gifts of the Divine Spirit to men.

[1] Sidney Colvin, pp. 508-509.

AN HISTORICAL REASON FOR THE BIBLE IN THE SCHOOLS

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The Gospel according to John tells us that the title which Pilate put on the cross, announcing the accusation against Jesus, was written in Hebrew and Latin and Greek. This was the most significant signboard in history. It stood at the meeting point of the three civilizations which gathered up within their borders all the results of previous antiquity. It announced that Israel, Rome, and Greece had met at the cross, whence each should proceed having no longer a mere local meaning, but a world-wide significance.

The order of the words in the title is also worthy of remark. It is interesting to note that the arrangement given above, as found in the Revised Version, differs from the reading in the Authorized Version, and that the mention of these languages by Luke in the latter version has been omitted in the former. These changes are due, no doubt, to the very great influence of certain manuscripts, the Vatican manuscript especially, in determining the readings of the Revised Version, but which were not available for the making of the King James Version.

Again the order of the words of the title should be compared with the order of the synoptic Gospels, Matthew, Mark, and Luke. It is common knowledge that Matthew was a Jew and wrote primarily for the Jews, Mark for the Romans, and Luke for the Greeks. A modern writer has called attention to the fact that the Jew was the man of the past, the man of tradition. He looked back to Moses and the prophets as his teachers and Abraham as his father. The Roman was the man of the present, the man of energy. Rome stood as the embodiment of power and universal empire, with a genius for law and government. The Greek was the man of the future, the man of thought. And in this order these Gospels stand at the head of the New Testament.

These three nations, representing leading types of humanity,

were chosen of God to carry out certain great purposes. Specialization in activity is not a modern idea, except possibly in the case of the individual. In the ancient world the nation, not the individual, was the unit of progress. When we read in Exodus that God, through Moses, told Israel that "if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be my own possession from among all peoples," we are inclined to feel that God is exercising favoritism. But further on we read that this mission of Israel was to be unto God "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." Peter came to realize that God was no respecter of persons, and in his first epistle declared that Israel was "an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession, that he might show forth the excellences of him who called him out of darkness into his marvelous light." God called Israel to specialize in religion.

But as God is no respecter of persons, just so he is no respecter of nations. A well-rounded progress demanded other prerogatives. As God called Israel to function in religion, just so he called Rome to specialize in law and government and Greece to specialize in philosophy.

When Pilate, therefore, stated with such assurance that "what I have written, I have written," though, doubtless, not realizing the full import of his words, it was no haphazard selection of languages which he had made. As human personality consists of sensibility, power of volition, and intelligence, so these three nations represent world personality, Israel the religious emotion, Rome the will, and Greece the intellect.

The modern historian of Rome, Guglielmo Ferrero, has called attention to the privileged position in the educational world accorded the story of Rome, a history that is studied in all the schools of civilized peoples. The city on the Tiber retains a youth which merits the epithet eternal, and our historian raises the interesting question whence the sources of this "perennial youth." He considers the fascination for this history to consist in the fact that "it includes, as in a miniature drawn with simple lines, all the essential phenomena of social life; so that every age is able there to find its own image, its gravest problems, its intens-

est passions, its most pressing interests, its keenest struggles; therefore Roman history is forever modern because every new age has only to choose that part which most resembles it, to find its own self." Rome had the legal temper. The fundamental law of the world to-day is Roman law. In her peculiar genius for law and government she has contributed to the world the spirit of social and economic progress.

If the Romans had the temper for law and government, the Greeks were possessed of the intellectual temper. Though the Greek had lost his political power to the Roman, he still reigned over the empire of thought. The captured Greek took his captor into captivity. If the Roman gave to the world the fundamental principles of law and government, the Greek gave to it the fundamental principles of thought. His contribution to the world's stock of ideas has made mankind his lasting debtor. His analyses of the problem of human life are vital even to-day. Pope was not the first to discover that "the proper study of mankind is man." Though Plato was greatly indebted to the Orphics and Pithagoreans, from his time on attention was directed upon man as the center of thought and investigation. The good, evil, justice, truth, freedom, virtue, courage, wisdom, personality, conduct, moral guilt, righteousness, love, holiness, immortality, God, mark the nature of their contribution of ideas to philosophy. The ideals of the Greek mind were the perfection of humanity, physical and mental beauty, culture, and art.

As Rome helps us to interpret history in terms of legal and economic power and Greece in terms of intellect, Israel helps us to interpret it in terms of God. Israel had the religious temper. As the history of Rome depicts "all the essential phenomena of social life" and the history of Greece all the essential phenomena of the intellectual life, so the history of Israel displays all the essential phenomena of the religious life. Dr. Sanders in his History of the Hebrews has shown that "inasmuch as the Hebrews grew from a primitive stage of social development into a cultured, forceful nation, their religious experience paralleled that of every thoughtful human being in his development from childhood to maturity. Somewhere in these biblical records every one finds

a reflex of his religious attitude and some satisfaction of his religious needs."

Again it hardly can be an accident of history, but rather a part of the divine plan, that these three languages in the title accredited to Pilate came to be the repositories of divine truth and after having enshrined the oracles of God, ceased to be living tongues. Thus as the guardians of eternal truth they stand apart with their word-forms fixed, which neither linguistic changes nor the revolutions of empires can destroy. And as we have inherited these three languages, so we have inherited the content of these three civilizations which enshrine all the essential phenomena of a well-rounded life.

The vital question now confronts us whether we have the three fundamental elements which characterize these civilizations emphasized in our educational and national life to-day, namely, respect for religion, respect for authority, respect for culture. Mere observation, and not argument, is sufficient to prove our weakness in the first two, and President Butler of Columbia University has recently shown that by our present educational system the values of education have been greatly lowered, and that while we are becoming "a highly instructed nation, we are becoming a nation uncultured and undisciplined."

This is characteristically the unfenced age. The fences are down. Years ago we used to see the fences along the highways and around every homestead, but to-day they have largely disappeared. The little picket fence around the door-yard with its old-fashioned flowers is now seldom seen. Our nation began as a fenced nation. Our earliest settlers lived a fenced life. They had respect for religion, for law, for education. They had the fence of home religion and the home altar. They had the fence of religious education. The earliest schools were established on religious foundations and usually under the care of some religious denomination. These schools were started with a handful of books, a handful of students, a handful of teachers, but also with a heartful of trust in God and a conviction that the education of the American youth should be built on a religious foundation. The Harvard charter of 1650 declared the object to be "The education of the English

and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and godliness." Such was the atmosphere of our educational life for more than two hundred years, for in 1860 there were not more than sixty schools in the whole country that really could be called public high schools. And our earliest governments were fenced about with the principles of the Christian faith. Thus did our nation begin with this well-grounded plan of development, and in later days, grounded in such a tradition and in such ideals, it was enabled to withstand the strain of Revolutionary and Civil War days. Since then the spirit of adventure in our educational development and the mad rush for power in our social and economic life have caused us to be weakened terribly in the third essential of a complete individual and national development. The only sane thing to do is to accept our early national experience as a basis on which to rebuild a sturdy national character. With all due respect to Mr. H. G. Wells, we must beg to say that Genesis and Leviticus and the historical books of the Bible do not need to be rewritten. The Bible is not out of date, but should be put back where it belongs into our general system of education and made even the corner stone of that discipline.

At times the boast has been made that God had reserved America with which to fulfill his highest purposes of mankind. If Israel was to specialize in religion, Rome in law and government, and Greece in culture and learning, what is America's specialization? Is it not that she should stand for this divine trinity of power in her national development to the end that she may produce the finest and highest type of humanity?

THE METHODIST TYPE OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

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I

Every great movement accumulates historical traditions which are vaster and more significant than the originators could foresee or would desire to determine. This development obeys certain natural laws of growth more elemental and more mighty than the thought or affection of any group of individuals. The result is some sort of essential character which the institution comes to possess. It is not personality, but the sublimation of countless personalities. Here is an alluring problem, a challenge to social psychology!

In the case of a widespread religious movement, the birth of a sect, the rise of a church, the delineation of this character ought to be especially interesting and worth while. For this kind of institution has for its peculiar interest and vital determination character, personality, religious experience.

What is the type of religious experience, developing through the years, in the societies which are called Methodist? We would answer this question first by considering briefly the religious experience of John Wesley; and secondly, the contrasting pattern of life in the making represented, for instance, by George Whitefield. Then we will try faithfully to picture that triumphant inner life and progressive attainment which have been fostered by Methodist exhortation and reflected in Methodist testimony. It will be necessary to ask, What is the Methodist type of religious experience in this generation? After endeavoring to answer this question, especially as it bears upon the larger social and spiritual life of the day, we will draw four general conclusions in regard to the whole matter.

In this study we have no thesis to defend. We wish merely to describe adequately a historical and present-day situation. It may eventually appear that this modest method will yield a genu-

ine "explanation" (in the only sense in which explanation is possible), and that this sort of description will prove to be the only defense desirable or valid.

II

The story of John Wesley's early spiritual struggles and dissatisfactions is familiar. Even after that memorable evening in Aldersgate Street, when he felt his heart "strangely warmed," for several months Wesley had an undulating experience. Doubt and assurance, hope and fear, struggled for the mastery. It was not until he threw himself wholly into evangelistic work that he found a settled and abiding peace.

Let us look then at some of the characteristics of his later life. Wesley was a social reformer. He preached politics and wrote politics. He denounced slavery as "the sum of all villainies." He attacked intemperance. He turned his chapels into bureaus of employment, and even into workshops. Many of Charles Wesley's hymns were written for the workman at his work. Multitudes of the poor were sick and could not afford a physician. John Wesley solved the difficulty by that which he might well call a "desperate expedient," saying, "I will prepare and give them physik myself." He studied medicine and practiced for many years. Later he opened free dispensaries. He even wrote a book with the more or less appropriate title, "Primitive Physik." It went through twenty-seven editions in England. He created a bank for the poor. A large part of his energies went into many schools for the children and youth of England.

Why all this? It shows the social character of Wesley's interest. The Methodist movement was first of all a revival of the ethical social consciousness. In his preaching the founder of Methodism looked to good, sound, practical truth. This was occasionally obscured by an abstract interest in doctrine. Nevertheless, the following is characteristic: "I find more profit in sermons on either good tempers or good works than in what are called 'gospel sermons.' The term has now become a mere cant word. I wish none of our society would use it. Let but a pert, self-sufficient animal, that hath neither sense nor grace, bawl out some-

thing about Christ or his blood, or justification by faith, and his hearers cry out, 'What a fine gospel sermon!' " Wesley believed in ethical preaching. He would have no "preaching of Christ even to the careless sinner, that is not by reason of righteousness, temperance and judgment to come."

With this rather objective description we may better attempt to appreciate his more intimate religious experience. Wesley was not a demonstrative Christian; he was not a "shouting Methodist." He wrote of himself that he went on "in an even way, being very little raised at one time or depressed at another." To a "holy man," who was discouraged because he lacked joy, Wesley wrote, "You never learned from my conversation or preaching or writing, that holiness consists in a flow of joy. I constantly told you quite the contrary. I told you it was love—the love of God and neighbor; the image of God stamped in our heart; the life of God in the soul of man; the mind that was in Christ, enabling us to walk as Christ also walked."

His bosom friend and helper, Bradburn, spoke of Wesley's modesty thus: "It prevented Wesley from saying much concerning his own religious feelings. In public he hardly ever spoke of the state of his own soul; but in 1781 he told me that his experience might almost at any time be expressed in the following lines:

'O Thou, who camest from above,
The pure, celestial fire to impart,
Kindle a flame of sacred love
On the mean altar of my heart;
There let it for thy glory burn,
With inextinguishable blaze;
And trembling to its source, return
In humble prayer and fervent praise.' "

The holy fire within him would flame forth now and again; but for the most part his faith was the inward, calm assurance of immediate experience of the divine. John Wesley was a mystic. After long perplexity he had at last succeeded in building in his own heart "the beautiful world." With this new life of certainty and of service he was content; and they who looked upon his good life might guess something of that inner illumination which streamed forth to lighten the darkness about him.

III

George Whitefield was a more intense and volatile personality, and his religious experience was of the "twice-born" variety. His uncared-for youth resulted in some viciousness of living, securing (as he said) "a fitness to be damned." On a later day, after certain weeks of struggle and suffering, he saw suddenly that it was for him that the Saviour died. The vision filled his heart with strange and sudden joy.

The problem presented by this sort of experience often enough has been examined from the theological point of view. For the purpose of this study we would rather approach the question strictly from the direction of the human consciousness of pain, strife, and victory.

Harold Begbie's Twice Born Men tells of the swarming vices and the struggling virtues that may be found in the mind of a man. Among them there are hate and fear and torpor. Then one day a strange new affection is discovered, or touched to life. This means confusion, conflict, pain. But the fresh interest is nourished for many days. Or perhaps in a moment it is stung into passionate, hungry life. A crisis comes. There is a great upheaval in the whole consciousness. New desires gain control and mighty decisions are reached. Triumphant joy succeeds the old terror and despair. Here is life at first hand. Its expression may take the form of ancient symbols, but the life itself is nascent. Its motives are vivid and interesting. Its challenge controls the attention. Its issue means reality.

Many of these men in very truth seem to change from the radically bad to the radically good in the cataclysmic shock of conversion. You will recall how the shameful, degraded prize-fighter, having drunk the dregs of existence, pledged himself to murder and death. When near the consummation of his act, a flash of his drunken imagination disclosed the awful consequences. Immediately his old consciousness was broken up, torn by storms of emotion; his whole life of memory and desire appeared to reorganize with new fears and likes as focal centers. He reacted from the past, he hated it, he disowned it. He felt light as air, and clean and happy.

Straightway he felt an overpowering desire to bring others into this better way. Once he fell, but only once. His long life was dedicated to the good of others. This will serve as an example of the twice-born men. Drunkards have such experiences, and so have rag-pickers and criminals, the offscourings of the earth. So did the eager beautiful youth, George Whitefield, who travailed long for the salvation of his soul.

William James tells us much about these matters. The soul is sick. A sense of the vanity of all things afflicts the imagination, or a conviction of sin lacerates the heart, or an intolerable fear of the universe terrorizes the entire being. The old life comes to stand for all this limitation and anxiety and helplessness. The new life must be found through dying to the blackness and evil of the past. This yearning struggle for peace may only intensify the conflict. The natural springing of ideal powers may be interrupted by the conscious effort to swing the ideas and feelings into the new channels. The successful passing of the crisis may be thus interfered with; the new idea and decision may get "jammed," like the lost word which we are trying so hard to remember. In this case self-surrender becomes an indispensable condition for completing the longed-for unification. Sometimes the individual will not or cannot cease the futile struggle. In that case he must exhaust himself, and then the happy reorganization may take place through a "center of indifference."

When harmony comes and peace is attained, there are three characteristics of the state of consciousness. "A passion of willingness, of acquiescence, of admiration, is the glowing center. The second feature is the sense of perceiving truths not known before; the mysteries of life become lucid, and often—nay, usually—the solution is more or less unutterable in words. A third peculiarity of the assurance state is the objective change which the world often seems to undergo; 'an appearance of newness beautifies every object.' "

A woman writes (in Starbuck's manuscript collection): "It was like entering another world, a new state of existence. Natural objects were glorified; my spiritual vision was so clarified that I saw beauty in every material object in the universe; the woods

were vocal with heavenly music. My soul exulted in the love of God, and I wanted everybody to share in my joy."

Billy Bray exhibited this ecstasy of happiness: "I can't help praising the Lord. As I go along the street I lift up one foot, and it seems to say, 'Glory,' and I lift up the other and it seems to say, 'Amen'; and so they keep up like that all the time I am walking." Leuba quotes Beecher: "In an instant there arose up in me such a sense of God's taking care of those who put their trust in him that for an hour all the world was crystalline, the heavens were lucid, and I sprang to my feet and began to cry and laugh."

This experience of joyous certainty has been characteristic of the Methodist revival: the saved is sure that he is saved. The Methodist is prone to make fun of the Calvinist who "longs to know" whether or not he is of the elect. The Methodist has the witness of the Spirit.

IV

We have viewed contrasting forms of the religious life, as seen and felt at first hand. It is time to remind ourselves that true religion is one. For instance, the Wesley and the Whitefield experiences are variations of one essential type. The once-born (if his development is normal) and the twice-born (if his dramatic change is wholesome and controlled) share the same genuine religious values: both are born from above. In any case, Christian experience is progressive. Where a marked crisis occurs, we may be sure that the unfolding process of nature, though unobserved, has been absolutely true to the divinely appointed laws of growth.

The stages of religious experience are never otherwise than developmental. While the ecstasy described above may exist for one hour, the true other-worldly happiness, the peace that passeth understanding, proves to be more than a passing vision of heavenly blessedness. Exultation in the prospect of victory over evil is not the end of the way. There is something better than the initial exhilaration of pursuit and the bright joy of aspiration. The remaining defectiveness in the human heart is not to be accepted as final. Still the urge from the vast Beyond constrains the soul to strive for the perfect beauty, the perfect goodness, the perfect

love. A higher experience remains for the Christian than is vouchsafed at the time of regeneration. God must completely fill the regenerate soul, so that "it effloresces in all the graces of righteousness. Its love is perfect and its peace is undisturbed."

Here we have the permanence and the absoluteness of the religious appeal. All must be offered freely. No reserve will be tolerated, no sacrifice withheld. This signifies the ultimate realization of life, for the giving is but the other side of the receiving: the soul that has given all gains all; for now it is endowed with godlike strength to endure and to triumph. The key-word of this experience is the passion for absolute surrender to the greater Power. This giving of self is a willing and glad surrender, for the ideal Power is friendly, even our Father who is in heaven. When the gift is made and the self lost, there is an immense elation, and all is light and love and freedom.

This consummation may be marked by ecstatic moments of realization, but fundamentally it is a natural growth. The beatific state comes not by chance: it is an achievement. In the last analysis, therefore, all religious ideals (from childhood's faint stirrings to maturity's faith assured) are realized through an educative process. And the genius of Methodism lends itself naturally to a full working out of such a training and program. As a matter of fact the Methodist denomination is one of the leaders in the field of religious education. We employ this last term in the comprehensive sense, including the culture of the individual devotional life and the projection of a world-wide missionary enterprise.

Sinning is selfish, unsocial behavior. Hence the consciousness of sin is due to abnormal or to incomplete development. In the one case it should be regarded as a disease, in the other as an immaturity, in the moral life. Rarely should it be dwelt upon, never aggravated. The aim will be to help the spiritual nature secure a normal, well-proportioned development: the mind, the emotions, and the will must be taught to act in harmony with the divine law.

The fundamental motive to right action is the desire for the more abundant life; true happiness is related only to this desire and this realization. Recognizing this, men are coming to see that

intense emotions—whether of remorse or of rapture—are of doubtful value, if deliberately induced. Our great church is demanding more and more insistently that the presentation of the gospel of redemption shall not, as Edward Scribner Ames writes, "set religion apart from one's normal, sane, and well-regulated activities, making it seem unnatural and weird. Methods of this kind obscure and minimize the function of education in religion, whereas any important results which seem to follow from the conversion experience actually consist either in making vital some past discipline inoperative at the time of conversion, or in setting the individual upon the path of new educative influences. Unless conversion is preceded or followed by the effective development of habits belonging to good character, then conversion becomes a momentary emotion with no positive significance."

Normal religious development of adolescence is gradual, and its awakenings are spontaneous. Consciousness of sin comes as the realization of unsocial elements in the expanding, dissatisfied nature. Many impulses and instincts are dimly felt, and then clearly seen, to be at war with new and fine ideals appearing, with the loveliness of the dawn, on the far horizon of youth's dreams. The aim of religious education should be to direct and patiently to direct again the attention, to quicken right appreciations and awaken wholesome desires, and to guide the activities in labor and in play. It should be to develop the nature of the child and of the youth to its richest and divinest possibilities. For it is "the very nature of the educational method to mediate to the individual the experience and enthusiasm of society in such a way that he lives the fullest possible life of which he is capable at every stage of development."

V

We have not attempted to make a composite photograph of Methodists. Every variety of belief and practice, from that represented by the fetish of primitive man to the philosopher's abstruse metaphysics, at any time could be discovered in the variegated assortment of religious experiences popularly known as Methodism. Nevertheless the representative experiences that we have studied have existed to such a degree in this sect or family of

sects that it has come to have a certain character in the general estimation.

To evaluate the heritage of Methodism has been our endeavor. What is its life to-day? Have the traditions of the past so colored the outlook of living Methodists that the brightness and warmth of the old-time enthusiasm still give to our age a peculiar luster? Has a similar religious consciousness been perpetuated through the inheritance of temperamental tendencies and through the social inheritance of precept and example? Above all, have these splendid spiritual possessions of a great church prepared her to meet the challenge of present-day conditions, to interpret the world of to-day to itself, and to assume a very effective leadership for the sake of the kingdom of God?

We live in an age of shifting lights. The spirit of eclecticism is not so much the result as it is the essence of the modern attitude. Old lines of development have become confused and blurred. We are living in the present in a new sense. We are influenced by our contemporaries to an extent unprecedented in the history of thought. Lines of modification and control run crosswise: they are found to be the woof as much as they are the warp of history. Moreover, this is an age of hospitality to new truth. An alertness of attention, a readiness of adaptation, and a suppleness of interest are the marks of the modern man. It is an age of emancipation from old fears and old restraints, and of joyous contact with the actuality of things.

Nevertheless there seems to be a spirit of Methodism which comes by natural descent from its earlier devotion, a spirit enriched and empowered through the ripening experience of several generations. We speak of an impression which many people voice. It is an impression of a certain sort of reliance, of a real warmth of feeling, and of a certain mastery in practical idealism. The Methodists lean back on experience. They trust their cause to the consciousness of certainty. There is an understanding sympathy among them when the heart speaks of its inner convictions and longings and triumphs.

Do we dare maintain that this suppleness of spirit is really characteristic of Methodism? Figures and proof are impossible

here. Certainly many grim facts mock the claim. The exalted appeal to the mystic consciousness would seem to be the emancipation proclamation to all believers. Let a man search his own heart and discover its treasure. Then we shall accept his word as one oracle of the Spirit. Surely there can be no external standard; no arrogant voice of authority will be heard. But the very contrary has been too often the case. Here is the practical misfortune of the warmth of the mystic consciousness; there is opportunity for high enthusiasm, but also there is chance for cruel and ugly tyrannies. Moreover, all too familiar is the phenomenon of mechanization, or shall we say encrustation. The new vitality, for its protection, builds itself a shell; straightway the shell grows hard, confining and stifling the struggling life, until it ceases to struggle. Often enough has this occurred in the history of the institution that we are studying.

Yet assuredly the genius of Methodism is the freedom and freshness of the life that it fosters and approves. Any Methodist, by referring to the underlying assumption of the Methodist postulate, can justify the newness and originality of his faith. John Wesley published a life of Thomas Firmin, a Unitarian. Said Wesley: "I was exceedingly struck at reading the following Life, having long settled it in my mind that the entertaining wrong notions concerning the Trinity was inconsistent with real piety. But I cannot argue against matter of fact. I dare not deny that Mr. Firmin was a pious man, although his notions of the Trinity were quite erroneous." In the Journals for May, 1788, we read: "The Methodists alone do not insist on your holding this or that opinion; but they think, and let think! Neither do they impose any particular mode of worship; but you may continue to worship in your former manner, be it what it may. Here is our glorying, and a glorying peculiar to us."

Our chief glorying now, however, is that our glorying is not peculiar to us. We exult in the magnificent histories and contributions of our sister churches. Again, who can say how much this happy confidence in the immediate presence of Life is due to the new ideals of education, to the pioneering of science, to the advance of democracy? Frankly, we are not particularly interested

in the allotment of credit. We cannot assert too strongly that our interest is primarily in the type of religious experience; for we care far more for man than for a particular institution.

To whatever degree this spirit is characteristic of Methodism, it is certainly mightily present in this and in other denominations, in clubs and associations, and in society at large. It is the natural fruit, in this day and generation, of religion experienced at first hand, no matter what other influences may have entered into the formation of this attitude. The right to believe is insisted upon to-day. And the weight of the Christian apologetic falls on the solidity of character and the feeling of being at home in the universe. Here is the fine hospitality of faith! Its measure is as wide as the needs of mankind.

Now the spirit of Methodism is readily disposed to adapt itself to the altered conditions of the modern epoch. We recognize freely that "new industrial conditions, new scientific and historical conceptions of nature and of human life, and manifold agencies cooperating to expand knowledge and to furnish new measures of freedom and responsibility to the individual, are creating new types of value, different ideals of conduct, and unaccustomed goals of endeavor." Our church desires to make use of this fresh insight, in order that her teaching may interpret adequately these values to men.

Religious leaders everywhere are coming to recognize the fact that in the long course of evolution, in a developing social order, a process of adjustment is as necessary in religion as in any other human interest. It is a practical adjustment which is required, for the fundamentals of human need and of divine truth do not change. Beyond everything else, the quiet wholesomeness, the searching truth, the breadth, the common sense, of Jesus's teaching is what the world needs in this hour. This teaching must be applied to conditions which now obtain and interpreted in terms of the thoughts that now prevail.

The present epoch is far more sensitive to essential questions of right and wrong than any other period of history. It is more truly ethical, more genuinely spiritual, than any other day. Yet many Christian thinkers fail to perceive the religious character

of the new enlightenment, that "spirit of the age" which is pre-eminently clear thinking, broadly sympathetic, and actively efficient. We may not be sufficiently optimistic to refer in this way to the modern times as a whole, but we may speak thus definitely of the new enlightenment.

Let the church take care lest she forfeit her proud place of leadership! Let her beware of the poison of self preferment, the stain of commercialism. Let it not be charged that the church has too many vested interests, nor that she is comfortably entrenched in things as they are. Nor shall it be said that the church indulges in an easy condoning of situations, customs, beliefs, which belong to a by-gone day of social injustice and of intellectual bondage. The world of to-morrow is given over into the hands of liberated peoples, an awakened democracy. Woe betide any institution which would weld the shackles of outworn autocracy or corroded plutocracy on the aroused giant of emancipated humanity! The church of the future will be the forerunner of democracy, the champion of freedom.

It has not ceased to be true that new occasions teach new duties. Methodism is eager to learn these new duties. What are they? The morality of yesterday was largely self centered. The morality of to-day is individual, but also governmental and economic. It recognizes that citizenship is a responsibility and patriotism a religious quest, that we are bound to maintain sound national policies and a just world order. The new ethics (the ethics of the Old Testament prophets) is concerned with the social sins: poverty, ignorance, crime, disease. Dr. Max Hamberger, of Johns Hopkins University, declared, "The modern world will see the end of poverty," and that "the philosophy of history points in this direction." We believe that poverty and all the rest of social inefficiency can be done away with by "the right training of the young and the right government of the mature."

Some years ago, Mr. William R. Malone, in an address before the Ohio State University, said: "The world is not good enough for any of us to live in if it is not good enough for all of us to live in. The man farthest down must be helped up, lest the best that a vaunted civilization has evolved be tumbled to destruc-

tion." And the late Hon. Franklin K. Lane referred to the problem as "the human one of getting on together. And this is no more than civilization's whole movement from the primal day."

A merely conventional ethics will not satisfy men at this time. Virtues and vices are being subjected to a reclassification. In regard to some matters the individual is being allowed more and more to be the judge of his own actions. In regard to others he is being held to stricter account, for the public conscience has become a social instrument to be reckoned with. According to the principle of relativity, all actions are coming to be estimated more in regard to their special relations and environment. On the other hand, the principles of purity and honor and brotherliness are being applied more universally and more rigorously. For instance, "an orthodox confession of faith in a just God on Sunday will no longer meet the world's demand for just business dealings on the other days of the week," and for a comprehensive program looking toward the establishment of a righteous social order. This demand is validated by the Methodist type of religious experience.

Confronted by these serious, heroic virtues, we can easily understand that the long-prized ascetic qualities (centering in abstinence from the common human pleasures) will count for nothing in an emancipated world. The Christian will despise any easy tag of ascetic practice, designed to indicate that he is different from the general human kind. The Christian does not desire to be set apart from the world. He wishes to make the world natural and wholesome and beautiful.

VI

In conclusion we may make certain generalizations. The type of religious experience of our study has four characteristics:

(1) Its spontaneous nature. The past is always the matrix of the future; but in an important sense religion is life yet unformed. We have been watching the upspringing of visions and the birth of faiths. The approved is discredited and form disregarded. The past is unsatisfactory, or even vile; perhaps it is only dry and disgusting. In the acute cases there is a break with the past. Of course the ancient forms remain over, and will be

likely rudely to grasp the young life in its very first hour and distort forever its natural simplicity. But it is the glowing center of the experience that has interested us. The convert, in his great hour, realizes a fresh creation.

This is true of normal religious development. Religion is ever springing into being. As James B. Platt has written, "Among every people that *thinks,* religion must always be at a crisis; for progress is the life of thought, and crisis is essential to the life of religion. It must forever be sloughing off an old shell and growing a new one. It must be broad and great enough to accept all that science and criticism have to say, and brave enough to face the whole truth and the whole future without fear."

(2) Its mystical realization of the divine. By this vague phrase we simply mean that the appeal is to the nascent consciousness of a wonderful, satisfying life; then time reveals that the mood attained is valid for an abiding attitude. Being ultimately an appeal to a compelling consciousness, the experience has a certain absolute character which makes it the final test of reality. In coming to this experience a man's aspiration finds its fruition, his longing its final object, his yearning spirit its home. Fresh responsibilities are burdened with their weight of glory; new duties and sacrifices, purer joys and happiness are now beheld in the light "that never was on sea or land."

> "With an eye made quiet by the power
> Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
> We see into the life of things."

In this mood of serene exaltation, all perplexities cease, all troubles vanish. We have abandoned our petty selves, and have entered the universal sphere of spirits; for in thus surrendering we surrender to God. "The simplest person who in his integrity worships God becomes God; yet for ever and ever the influx of this better and universal Self is new and unsearchable." The only way we may become divine is to be the temples of the infinite Presence, that the light of this Spirit may enter and penetrate, pervade and glorify these, the temples of life—and the Life is the light of men.

(3) Its every-day value. This type of religion is not for Sun-

day only; it is for all time. The waters of refreshment penetrate to every nook and corner of daily happenings, both of toil and of recreation. Faith is not formal, but informing. Its consolations are found blossoming from the dark soil of grief and affliction and its joys are read into the meanest accidents. It is more than a privilege and a persuasion. It is a thoroughgoing challenge. To be sure, ups and downs, victories and failures are characteristic of this experience. Nevertheless, in ideal, religion is felt to make the ultimate demand. God must have the whole man. Nothing short of perfection is recognized as the goal and norm of this practical religion. A pathway of limitless progress lies ahead.

(4) Its social character. It is not enough to say that this is an experience which quickens the ethical activities. For it *is* fundamentally social. This religious experience can never be fully defined in any other terms. Jesus summed up his gospel as love of God and love of neighbor. Hence in its wholesome, representative forms, this type of religious experience makes for righteousness. It urges a man to act; nay, it is action: a whole-hearted living for the good of all, that God may be glorified, and that this earth may be made more like heaven.

Methodism preaches the social gospel. It is not a new gospel. Its sane advocates have not said this; nor have they held that all old methods are discredited. They have merely insisted on the widest scope for the functioning of the religion of Jesus. They believe that evangelism includes the formation of new habits of service, as well as the bringing about of fresh decisions. They maintain that the work of the church is not done until new activities are set in motion, which will bring the economic and social order under the domination of Christian ideals.

This is another way of stating the essential nature of the Methodist type of religious experience. It is real life, spontaneous and vivid within, while without it is resourceful and controlled. It is bound up with the elemental yearnings and passions and with the fairest ideals of the whole man. It is the life history of a man in his most interesting hours. This is best seen in that the new eagerness and assurance make life clean and strong and helpful.

THE INTERNATIONAL FUNCTION OF EDUCATION

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Few conceptions in recent times have proved on the whole so serviceable in the discussion of social problems as the conception of society as an organism rather than as an aggregation of self-sufficient individuals, each of whom could gain an advantage only at the expense of those about him. The individual, we well know, is really an abstraction, having no more existence than the leaf has an existence apart from the plant on which it grows, and from the total environmental context of which the plant itself is merely a part; or than a set of muscles, or, say, a nerve cell has any real existence as a functioning thing, apart from the body as a whole of which it forms an integral part. It follows from this that anything raising or lowering the efficiency of any part must inevitably affect other parts, the vitality of the whole being enhanced or lowered as a unit.

Concurrently with this shift of emphasis from an atomistic to the organic view of society there has taken place some change in our educational conceptions also, the older individualistic aim of self-culture and the exploitation of life being superseded more and more by ideals of social usefulness and service. No one can to-day claim to be educated, in the best sense, who has not been prepared for some productive activity of value to society, and (what is equally important) with a disposition to make his knowledge and skill effective in the promotion of a better social order.

You can never have anything, William James is reported to have said, without having too much of it. Perhaps just now there is danger that the ideal of social efficiency as an educational ideal is likely to be overstressed, and that we may lose sight of the important principle that the personality itself is the source and fountain-head from which all else proceeds, and that one cannot hope to perform any social or public service without an equipment adequate for the task. In our anxiety for quick results we are likely

to forget that an indispensable condition of usefulness is the thorough training of intelligence, and the enrichment of the self without which the best-intentioned enterprises come to little. What Emerson says of the religious teacher applies equally to every man who aspires to confer any permanent benefit upon mankind: "Not any profane man, not any sensual, not any liar, not any slave can teach, but only he can give who has; he only can create who is. The man on whom the soul descends, through whom the soul speaks, alone can teach. Courage, piety, love, wisdom can teach; and they shall bring him the gift of tongues. But the man who speaks as books enable, as synods use, as the fashion guides, and as interest commands, babbles. Let him hush."

Let no one, then, begrudge the years spent in what sometimes seem like merely individual pursuits, and the increase of merely individual prowess and endowment. Whatever truly advances the individual's capacity and talent, thereby increases at the same time his potential value to the world.[1]

The prodigious events of the last few tragic years must have led all who have seriously to do with education to ask themselves again the question whether education may not have a greater international function than it has hitherto exercised; whether it cannot, perhaps, do much more than it has done heretofore to bring people of different nations and cultures closer together, and thus, through a better understanding, abate somewhat the animosities which have set men against each other, and which have in the present generation rendered life well-nigh worthless for innumerable persons everywhere.

It must be confessed that the very years immediately preceding the world war, during which exceptional exertions were made to bring about international understanding by educational and cul-

[1] There is an interesting passage in one of William James's letters which I cannot refrain from quoting for the benefit of any Carol Kennicot whose eyes may fall upon these pages: "I have been growing lately to feel that a great mistake of my past life, which has been prejudicial to my education, and by telling me which, and by making me understand it some years ago, some one might have conferred a great benefit on me, is an impatience of *results*. Inexperience of life is the cause of it, and I imagine it is generally an American characteristic . . . Results should not be too voluntarily aimed at, or too busily thought of. They are sure to float up of their own accord, from a long enough daily work at a given matter; and I think that the work as a mere occupation ought to be the primary interest with us. Have confidence, even when you seem to yourself to be making no progress, that, if you but go on in your own uninteresting way, they must bloom out in their good time." (Letters of William James, Vol. I, p. 133.)

tural agencies, were also the years which saw an unprecedented growth of nationalistic feeling; and this is not a circumstance to encourage those who hope much from science and culture in promoting world pacification and international fraternity.

"It had seemed," Mr. Santayana wrote in 1913, "that an age that was leveling and connecting all nations, an age whose real achievements were of international application, was destined to establish the solidarity of mankind as a sort of axiom. The idea of solidarity is often invoked in speeches, and there is an extreme socialistic party that—when a wave of national passion does not carry it the other way—believes in international brotherhood. But even here black men and yellow men are generally excluded; and in higher circles, where history, literature, and political ambition dominate men's minds, nationalism has become of late an omnivorous, all-permeating passion. Local parliaments must be everywhere established, extinct or provincial dialects must be galvanized into national languages, philosophy must be made racial, religion must be fostered where it emphasizes nationality and denounced where it transcends it. . . . Now that the hue of daily adventure is so dull, when religion for the most part is so vague and accommodating, when even war is a vast impersonal business, nationality seems to have slipped into the place of honor. It has become the one eloquent, public, intrepid illusion. . . . It is right to feel a greater kinship and affection for what lies nearest to oneself. But this necessary fact and even duty of nationality is accidental; like age or sex it is a physical fatality which can be made the basis of specific and comely virtues; but it is not an end to pursue or a flag to flaunt or a privilege not balanced by a thousand incapacities. Yet of this distinction our contemporaries tend to make an idol, perhaps because it is the only distinction they feel they have left."

Despite these dismal failures of the past, I cannot but feel still that the main hope and remedy lie in education. The causes of armed conflict are many; an age-old instinct of pugnacity, developed in remote periods when the very existence of the individual and the group depended upon physical combat; the desire for commercial and industrial supremacy; racial and religious prejudices; and, finally, the most unworthy and evil influence of all, the ambition of politicians and manufacturers of armament, who, to gain some merely private advantage of power or wealth, are willing to plunge countless human beings into abject want and misery—these are the major causes of war. When we stop for a moment to view the appalling losses, with almost no corresponding gains, which wars entail, the staggering material losses, which can be

only partly replaced, the loss of life, which cannot be replaced at all, finally, and most lamentable of all, the moral loss through the arousal of the most furious passions which ravage man's inner life, and the degradation of all the fairer sentiments, fragile and perishable, at best, which in better times animate men—when we compare, I say, the paltry and ignoble gains with the heart-rending losses, the very existence of war in the twentieth century appears as almost a greater reflection on man's intelligence than on his moral nature; something, then, which the promotion of reasonableness and intelligence might be fairly expected to abate and even in time completely to remove.

I wish in a few words to indicate some of the ways in which organized education, in our schools and colleges, may contribute toward this end.

1. The larger acquaintance with ideas, ideals, and social usages, different from our own, which education and culture promote, tend to assuage the feeling of suspicion and hostility instinctively aroused by the novel and unfamiliar. The man acquainted only with his own country and time will find his whole outlook on life becoming parochial and cramped. The narrow street on which his days are spent becomes Main Street, the climax of civilization, and the norm for all the world beyond. What the dweller on Main Street says "becomes law for London, Prague, and the unprofitable isles ofthe sea"; whatever he does not know and sanction, "that thing is worthless for knowing and wicked to consider. Would he not betray himself an alien cynic who should otherwise portray Main Street or distress the citizens by speculating whether there may not be other faiths?"

2. A moment's reflection will teach men capable of reflection, as will also the long history of bloodshed from the beginning till now, that there is no assurance that questions of right will be justly settled by the barbarous ordeal of battle, unless, indeed, one is ready to subscribe to the savage maxim that might is right. Nor can a nation's honor be vindicated by arms. In older days, when moral conceptions were cruder even than they are to-day, questions both of abstract right and personal honor were supposed to be vindicated by duel. To-day we smile at such childish folly. And

yet the cases of the private duel, and of the collective pugnacity called war, are precisely parallel. The strange superstition that all wars end in the vindication of justice is merely the result of the circumstance that the victors are able to enforce their own opinions of the merits of the contest, as they were able to decide the issue of the contest itself. Dead men tell no tales. The only way that differences between nations can be properly settled is by the use of judicial and arbitral means, and by the development of an intelligent and fair-minded public opinion.[1]

3. The increasing knowledge and mastery of economic and juridical problems, which the higher institutions of learning promote, should render us more successful, with time, in devising practical means by which world pacification can actually be effected. Much progress in this direction has already been made. It is important, in the present state of disillusionment and confusion, not to discard the suggestion already put forward, nor to abandon the agencies already set on foot, but to continue the efforts to perfect them and to render them more adequate. One of the greatest obstacles to practical progress has been removed by the disappearance of a number of the great centralized governments, and the addition to the family of nations of a number of new democracies in which the mass of the people, who bear the brunt and the fearful cost of war, will have a larger voice than they have ever had in the determination of their own destiny.

4. It is a reasonable expectation that with the progress of culture an increasing sensitiveness may be engendered in men for the intrinsic worth of life as such, so that the violation of life,

[1] The hideous folly of the appeal to force is well illustrated by the present race for naval supremacy between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan. The United States has at present under construction two battle cruisers to cost thirty millions of dollars each, which, as former Secretary McAdoo said in a recent address, will be obsolete by the time they are completed. All that Great Britain or Japan will have to do will be to build cruisers which are larger and better equipped, to be surpassed in our turn, and so on. In case of war, with whom will the advantage lie? Evidently with the nation which happens at the moment to be better equipped. Immediately after the close of the most destructive of all wars, which was fought, as we said, to end war, we make military preparations unprecedented in our history. The naval and military estimates for the year 1922 are $1,100,000,000. The entire cost of the government of the United States in 1914 was $750,000,000. Eighty-four per cent of taxes of all kinds went for military and naval purposes for the fiscal year 1921, the remaining 16 per cent being expended for all other purposes put together, including education. Did Germany, or any other nation, in the palmiest days of militaristic policy, ever exceed this record? And what does the church say to this exhibition of militarism and the spirit of war?

whether through homicide, the various species of slavery, old and new, and even the abortion of a human life, through maltreatment or neglect, will be recognized for what it is, one of the deepest of crimes. That a man should always be treated as an end, never as a means, was one of the profoundest teachings of one of the greatest of modern philosophers. But the inner meaning and depth of this humane sentiment we have yet to fathom.

5. An indispensable condition for the just solution of political as well as all other problems which arise between men is intellectual freedom, perfect freedom of thought and expression, a priceless heritage of our American tradition; and I like to think of our colleges and universities as places where such freedom is prized and fostered, being recognized for what it is, the indispensable requisite to candor and sincerity in all human relations.

6. Finally, the practice of truth in the pursuit of the sciences and learning, it is only natural to suppose, confers not only the power to distinguish truth from error, but tends to engender the attitude of intellectual neutrality and of impartial consideration; discounting, as it does, the passionate and practical motives which actuate men in general, and conveying some insight into the true place of man as man, and of each man, in the vast perspectives of nature and history. There is something in the scope and majesty of nature which rebukes our partial and petty moods, and imparts to us a measure of its own sanity and serenity. When Emerson came out of the conventicle or the reform meeting, or out of the rapturous close atmosphere of the lecture-room, he heard nature saying to him, "Why so hot, little sir?" The passion for truth is a very distinguished passion, and the man who puts truth above all else is likely to find the truth working deep changes in his whole character, making him, as it made Emerson, more unworldly, calm, detached, contemplative, less passionate, insistent, and self-willed.

The four elements of greatness, we read in that bright book Margot Asquith's Autobiography, are humility, freedom from self, courage, which generally goes with truth, and finally (rarest trait of all) the power to love. Many will possibly think it a curiously remote and unconvincing statement, but the pursuit which often

seems to me to promote most distinctly these finest fruits of character is philosophy. By philosophy, of course, I do not mean anything very different from science, or from any other disinterested pursuit of truth. Nor do I mean by philosophy what often calls itself by that noble name, and is nothing but the defense of a set of prejudices. Mr. Santayana's cynical estimate of professional philosophers, that they are usually only apologists, "absorbed in defending some vested illusion, or some eloquent idea," is unfortunately only too true. "They do not covet truth, but victory and the dispelling of their own doubts. What they defend is some system, that is, some view about the totality of things, of which men are actually ignorant." Philosophy, in its best estate, is something very different from this, and its greatest value does not perhaps lie in any definite truths to be reached by it, but rather in its effects upon the minds of those who pursue it. It must have been Lessing had this in mind when he said that if he had the choice between truth itself, and the search for it, he would choose the latter.

Mr. Bertrand Russell has presented this view of philosophy in an extraordinarily fine passage in his little book, The Problems of Philosophy, which I wish to quote somewhat in full. One of the chief values of philosophy, according to Mr. Russell, consists in its power to liberate man from the thraldom of the instinctive life, and in opening the way into a realm where the petty differences of feeling and the accidents of personal history do not enter.

> The life of the instinctive man is shut up within the circle of his private interests: family and friends may be included, but the outer world is not regarded except as it may help or hinder what comes within the circle of instinctive wishes. In such a life there is something feverish and confined, in comparison with which the philosophic life is calm and free. The private world of instinctive wishes is a small one, set in the midst of a great and powerful world which must, sooner or later, lay our private world in ruins. Unless we can so enlarge our interests as to include the whole outer world, we remain like a garrison in a beleaguered fortress, knowing that the enemy prevents escape and that ultimate surrender is inevitable. In such a life there is no peace, but a constant strife between the insistence of desire and the powerlessness of will. In one way or another, if our life is to be great and free, we must escape this prison and this strife.
>
> One way of escape is by philosophic contemplation. Philosophic con-

templation does not, in its widest survey, divide the universe into two hostile camps—friends and foes, helpful and hostile, good and bad. It views the whole impartially. . . . The mind which has become accustomed to the freedom and impartiality of philosophic contemplation will preserve something of the same freedom and impartiality in the world of action and emotion. It will view its purposes and desires as parts of the whole, with the absence of insistence that results from seeing them as infinitesimal fragments in a world of which all the rest is unaffected by any one man's deeds. The impartiality which, in contemplation, is the unalloyed desire for truth is the very same quality of mind which, in action, is justice, and in emotion is that universal love which can be given to all, and not only to those who are judged useful or admirable. Thus contemplation enlarges not only the objects of our thoughts, but also the objects of our actions and our affections: it makes us citizens of the universe, not only of one walled city at war with all the rest. In this citizenship consist man's true freedom and his liberation from the thraldom of narrow hopes and fears.

Universal love, which can be given to all, and not only to those who are judged useful or admirable! Has the spirit of Christianity ever been expressed in words more simple and splendid?

EUCKEN AND BERGSON—TWO MODERN PROPHETS

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Our age has witnessed the humanization of the social sciences, including the once dry-as-dust, abstract political economy. Likewise our age marks the humanization of philosophy, the handmaiden of the gods. Classes in Nietzsche and Bergson are quite the fad in social and literary circles. This is as it should be.

The world moves because of the dominant ideas of its people. Epochs of civilization are thought-created epochs. We can understand the nobility of Greece only when we know Socrates and Plato. We understand the fall of Greece when we know Epicurus and Zeno. We appreciate the culture and library of Alexandria when we read Philo. We understand the Enlightenment when we study Roger Bacon and Thomas Aquinas and Spinoza. The French Revolution is unexplained until we read Voltaire and Rousseau and Comte. The development of human psychology is explained by Kant and Hegel; the development of modern science by Darwin and Spencer and Huxley. The human movements rooting in philosophic systems might be indefinitely lengthened.

The philosophy of our day is not only humanized but popularized. This popularization is due largely to four men: Professor Borden P. Bowne of Boston University, Professor William James of Harvard, Professor Rudolf Eucken of the University of Jena, and Professor Henri Bergson of the College of France at Paris. Each of these men has profoundly affected, and finally altogether dominated, the thinking of our day. Bowne and Eucken are the prophets of "personal idealism" and "activism" respectively—though their systems are similar. Bergson is the prophet of "vitalism" and James the apostle of "pragmatism." Bergson is a frank idealist, and James a professed pluralist.

Bergson logically follows Schopenhauer, Comte, Mill, and Spencer; while Eucken completes the line of Fichte, Kant, and Hegel. Rene Berthelot gives us this formula with reference to

Bergson: Hobbes : Berkely :: Nietzsche : Bergson. Both Bergson and Eucken as well as their American fellows, Bowne and James, enter a protest against intellectualism in philosophy. That is why we speak of their systems as "vitalism," "actualism," "pragmatism," and "personalism."

Eucken is a German, a Christian. Bergson is a Frenchman —a Jew—of Polish ancestry, his parents having come to Paris from Ireland. They are both modern prophets.

George R. Dodson says, "Bergson is not only a thinker; he is also a seer. Like Schopenhauer, he gazes intently at reality, but describes what he sees in terms of life; his vision is that of a great life flowing through time. The life current is the fundamental reality, the material universe being the ebb of this great flow. Matter is a flux and not a thing, a process derived from the spiritual by inversion."

John Burroughs writes of Bergson as "a prophet of the soul," and says of him, "I think we may say that Bergson is a distinct species. He is *sui generis*. One cannot read far in his book without feeling that here at last is an inspired philosopher." Again he says: "Bergson is an inspired man, and he begets in us that inward joy and exultation which is the gift alone of a prophet of the soul."

Edward Le Roy, Bergson's best interpreter, pays Bergson's philosophy this extravagant compliment: "It marks a never-to-be-forgotten date in history; it opens up a phase of metaphysical thought; it lays down a principle of development the limits of which are indeterminable; and it is after cool consideration, with full consciousness of the exact value of words, that we are able to pronounce the revolution which it effects equal in importance to that effected by Kant, or even by Socrates."

Bergson has been called the "greatest Jewish philosopher since Spinoza," and he himself says: "Though I look at it as only a huge and undeserved compliment, nothing flatters me more than when my name is mentioned after that of Spinoza."

Eucken is no less a modern prophet than Bergson. He has been associated with two great thinkers whose systems are diametrically opposed to his own. At Basel he was a colleague of

Nietzsche and at Jena with Ernest Haeckel. Eucken is the embodiment of the newer spirit of spiritual idealism as opposed to naturalism and materialism.

The human mind is constantly growing and expanding through a series of cyclical changes. Now one idea is dominant, now another. First the physical, then the spiritual, occupies the attention of the thinking mind. The last century was characterized by a spirit of materialism. This spirit affected the business, social, and religious life of man. It was the dominant note of all thinking. Everything had to be brought to the bar of physical science before it could be demonstrated as true. There has been a revulsion of thought in the last twenty-five years and the pendulum has begun to swing in the opposite direction of spiritual idealism.

But while realism or materialism in its various forms has been more popular with the masses of the people, idealistic Monism has been the constant dream of the idealist and the mystic. To the Buddhist and the Brahmin, every man and every creature is the incarnation of Ishwara, the Master. With Plato matter is but objectified divine idea; the Idea being the sole reality. In the Pantheism of Spinoza, both man and universal nature are fluctuating phenomena of one unknowable Substance. To Leibnitz, the human monad and every "lesser" or "least" is the microcosm of the Macrocosm. Fichte, the subjective idealist, makes the consciousness of man the ultimate totality of Being. In Hegel we have the same esoteric ideal which animates the sage by the Ganges and the Nile, the consciousness of the many evolving up to the Absolute. This system has been recently wrought out by the Oxonian, Bradley, in his book, Appearance and Reality. He posits reality of the noumenon and not of phenomena.

How do we account for this recurrence of idealism in an age that seems to be essentially materialistic and realistic? The answer is plain. The human mind is so constituted that it must seek for universal solutions of the great problem of human life. The last few years has been a period of neo-Kantian philosophy. There are two modern philosophers who represent this philosophical revival. These are the late Professor Borden P. Bowne

and Professor Rudolf Eucken, the sage of Jena. Professor Bowne stood in the forefront of American philosophers, if, indeed, he was not the greatest of American thinkers. No man has exercised such an influence on American thought as has Professor Bowne, except his fellow townsman Professor William James. He preached this gospel for almost a half century in the university, and to-day thousands of his students are proclaiming this great truth all over the world.

To-day there is one commanding figure that dominates the philosophical world, Professor Rudolf Eucken of Jena. Professor Weinel maintains that the strongest influence which the pre-war intellectual life of Germany felt was that of Rudolf Eucken. He maintains that the great German metaphysician is a genuine Christian philosopher. Professor Inge of Cambridge says the center of Eucken's philosophy "is the idea of a new birth. He makes this essentially Christian idea the pivot of a great philosophy of religion. Eucken is modern in taking *life* rather than abstract thought as his supreme category. We must come into vital contact with the absolutely real, the objectively true, before we can be satisfied. But this longing can be granted only through the inner transformation of our own nature. We must win our true life, gain our souls, before we can enter into the thoughts and purposes of the Father of spirits. Only the purified heart can see God; only the single eye can behold reality. Here is the key of Eucken's philosophy."

The human mind likes not to be cramped but craves the universal. Man instinctively longs for union with the Infinite. Hence it is that we have the modern movement of philosophical idealism and its religious counterpart, the doctrine of divine immanence, the old doctrine of the Hebrew prophets and of Paul and Jesus, revived. Paul says, "For in him we live and move and have our being." That is the modern doctrine of divine immanence, not Christian Science, nor Pantheism, nor Monism.

We may say that the occasion of the present recurrence of idealism in philosophy and religion is the effort of the modern mind to solve the problem of human life in the terms of the Absolute, the infinite, the universal—GOD.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE PROPHETIC PRINCE OF THE FOUR NAMES

We celebrate at Christmas the greatest birthday of all time, but it is more than that, it is above all a birthday in our own family, a source of personal joy. Its message is both universal and individual.

"Unto *you* a child is born," sang the herald, and that is all an angel could say, for the whitest winged seraph could have no such interest in the Incarnation as do we, and yet the angels were glad to sing glorias over our good news. But "not to angels did he take hold," he did not become an angel, he became a man, and therefore the prophet Isaiah, being himself a man, proclaims "Unto *us* a child is born."

So did this joy send its glory back seven hundred years and made musical the language of saints and seers. One wonders if that prophetic message in the ninth chapter of Isaiah does not unconsciously reveal a double birth in its Hebrew parallelism. "Unto us a child is *born*." That is the earthly fact of human parentage; "Unto us a son is *given*." That is the heavenly act of the Eternal Father.

How shall God come to earth? Men have dreamed strange dreams of his appearing, sky signs of splendor, pomp of fiery chariots, salvos of thunders, banners of fire, careering comets, etc. But his most princely path of approach was by the gateway of a lowly birth.

What name shall we give to this Child of us all? Many significant titles have been assigned to him: Emanuel, God with us, Christ the Anointed One, Jesus the Saviour. But none are fuller of meaning than the four great prophetic names of Isaiah 9. 6.

1. Wonderful Counselor. The prophet proclaims a prophet. Isaiah, himself a statesman and the wise counselor of kings, foretells the most marvelous Statesman of all history. "Master," "Teacher," such his disciples called him, and the multitude that heard him marveled at his words and were astonished at his teaching, for here was a philosopher beside whose sayings all thought grows foolish, a poet whose creations transcend all art, a statesman who alone can carry permanent dominion upon his shoulder.

"He spake as never man spake," from the first words of wisdom that "Mary treasured in her heart" to the last divine promise that transformed the old despair into undying hope: "Lo, I am with you always." His method as teacher is "wonderful"; it is the voice of immediate vision; he stands in the unsullied radiance of unclouded Truth; he speaks as one having authority, an authority that never reasons, argues or doubts, but possesses the absolute compulsion of spiritual and moral certainty. Could any counselor be more wonderful?

2. MIGHTY GOD. To wisdom he joins power. He is not only the Counselor to legislate, but also the King to execute his laws. His glory is not of the Word only, but also of the Deed. He is the God-Hero, the Deliverer on whose shoulders of strength rests the weight of the world's government. He is the World's Conqueror, of a sort unlike the historic destroyers, Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon. His might is a different kind of might, which wins through love and convinces through right. He touches tyranny and it crumbles, slavery and it vanishes, wrong and it falls. Around his cradle, like that of Hercules, lie the slain serpents of false philosophies, effete civilizations, dead institutions, and selfish social order. He is the Victor in the eternal conflict between light and darkness.

In the noble words of Richter: "He, the mightiest among the holy and the holiest among the mighty, with his pierced hands has lifted the gates of empire from their hinges, turned the stream of centuries from its channel and still governs the ages."

Above all he has overcome Sin and Death.

3. EVERLASTING FATHER. We could never be satisfied with a God who was only wisdom and might, the heart longs for love. He is a Father forever. This is the supreme significance of the Incarnation; it opens up the Heart of God. We saw the hand of God in the heavens, the mind of God in the earth, but the love of God is seen nowhere else as in the glory of grace and truth which shine in the face of Jesus Christ.

"He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." He reveals Fatherhood by Sonship. This is Saint Paul's statement of the Advent: "God sent forth his Son." From his first recorded words when he suggested that the place to find him was his Father's house to the last word of the Cross, commending his Spirit to his Father's care, he was revealing the Father.

Other loves fail; his fatherhood is eternal. Our earthly fathers

die and the world seems a desert, but "thou art the same and thy years shall not fail." Dying men need and have an undying Christ.

> Come to this God, ye weepers, for he weeps;
> Come to him, ye who suffer, for he cures;
> Come to him, ye who fear, he pity keeps;
> Come to him, ye who pass, for he endures.

4. PRINCE OF PEACE. Fatherhood creates brotherhood. And so the Christmas angels sing, "Peace on earth."

This twentieth century has passed through four of the most terrible Christmas days of history, not white but crimson Christmases. The angelic hymn has been drowned by the horrid din of war. Marching armies, burning cities, ruined homes, blighted beauty, weeping widows, wasted wealth—has Christianity failed? Does a remedy fail when men will not take it? Christianity has not yet been tried.

It is the mundane theory of life that has failed. The deification of force, the great illusion of personal and national self-interest, the preposterous theory of preparedness as insurance against war—the doctrine of grab and get which rules politics and business has failed and we are paying the penalty. "The Empire is peace," said Napoleon, but so is a graveyard. "They make a desolation and call it peace."

What has failed? Government, politics, commerce, science, invention, society, business—all human institutions have failed, but "He shall not fail nor be discouraged until he has set judgment in the earth and the isles shall wait for his land." There can be no peace in an unChristian world, a world without Christ. He has not failed; he has brought peace to many humble hearts. He will bring it to the world. In the context, Isaiah pictures the burning up of the implements and munitions of war. That is what the Conquering Christ will do with cannon and dreadnaughts.

The Prince of the Four Names shall convince the world by his wisdom, subdue it by his might, inspire it with his love, and bless it with his peace.

THE PREACHER, THE PEOPLE, AND THE BIBLE

No higher service can be rendered by the minister in this critical crisis for the Church than to utilize it in arousing a new interest in Bible study. When the Book was looked upon as inerrant it frequently

became too sacred for use; it was banished from the study to the parlor table; it became a magic talisman whose presence in the house exuded safety and sanctity quite apart from its contents. The quickening of the historic spirit in modern thought ought to awaken a revival of interest in the Book of God. Such renewed study has always been the signal of spiritual revival. Before the invention of printing the rare copies of Holy Scriptures were chained to the reading desks of the churches. A vicious theory of its composition has again chained it to confessional systems. Criticism is again unchaining the real revelation of God found in the sacred records. The liberated Book, once a priest's book, then the preacher's book, now the professor's book, must become the people's book. Give the Bible a chance to speak for itself, and it will arouse a religious response which will be the real remedy for the peril and shock caused by radical criticism. The Church which emulates the Berean nobleness which "received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily,"[1] will win a knowledge which will with open mind welcome all new light breaking forth from the Book, and a faith that cannot be shaken by the changing forms of that knowledge.

Results to the Church and Individual

Such preaching and teaching will raise the Church above the clouds of controversy and sectarian bigotry. Sectarianism is largely born of the piecemeal use of Scripture. Men go into this orchard of fruit, not to gather fruit to feed their hunger, but to cut clubs to break each other's heads. To catch a glimpse of the progressive character of divine revelation, to feel the onwardness of its movement, and to discriminate the fragmentary sources from the abiding religious element, is to be delivered from the vicious proof-text method of handling Scripture. Who has not felt when encountering a crowd of these excerpts from the sacred Book, collected in a cloud to support some doctrine, that they were much like that flight of Scythian arrows that darkened the sky rather than wounded the enemy? This result of the critical method is already in sight—a consensus, not only of critical conclusions, but of exegetical results. Unity is being reached through the labor of devout scholarship. The convergence of critical conclusions toward a common result is most remarkable. That unity which neither an infallible Church nor an infallible Book could ever give, will be conquered by the Church that is simply loyal

[1] Acts 11. 17.

to truth. One day the stones quarried in many a mountain of research will be found to fit into their places in the temple of God. The preachers of to-morrow will be found preaching, not many gospels, but one Christ.

Yet this unity will be revealed in a richer diversity than we ever dreamed. When the Bible is enfranchised from its irreverent abuse as a theological text-book and is no longer regarded as a formal didactic treatise made up of logical propositions and doctrinal definitions, and it is seen to be as free and spontaneous as nature itself, preaching will become more rich and varied. Its wealth of literary form, its appropriation and assimilation of the whole life of the ancient world, its inclusion of many climes and times in its testimony for God—the recognition of these and similar elements will give to preaching an opulence of material which no narrow dogmatism could command. It will mean much to the preacher to overcome that Chinese vision which sees no perspective. He will learn to preach as Jesus did, not by turning the rich variety of Scripture into jejune forms of logical statement, as men extract vinegar from the luscious fruits of the orchard and vineyard, but by dropping holy pictures into their minds, that the sensitive soul may win its own vision and achieve its own thought of God. It is a nobler task to stir a life to shape its own spiritual response and form its own moral reactions than to dose a soul with truth of the tabloid type. Some one has said, "Science is in *us,* religion is in *me*"; that is, science is a social product, religion is an individual experience. Criticism will realize that ideal for us, a unity of intellectual result joined to a rich diversity of personal expression. The way of faith has been made intellectually hard by the confusion of creeds and confessions, and morally too easy; it needs to be made simple to the mind, but morally strenuous to the will. *"Securus judicat orbis terrarum,"* "the whole world cannot go wrong"—such was the plea of Augustine for the unity of the Church. A more vital oneness than he could have imagined will be wrought when, by the destruction of the earthly scaffolding about the truth of God, the divine temple wrought of living human stones shall stand in its consummate beauty. True preaching, which is simply bringing religious truth to the test of life, will certainly make the discovery that not one thing that has value for living has been lost by any possible critical process. No assault of logic can possibly capture that citadel of Christian certainty whose foundations are in the holy mountains of spiritual fact.

Criticism may compel the preacher to condense his creed; it does not demand that he dilute it. Let no young minister imagine that flippant flings at vicarious atonement or audacious dealing with the divinity of our Lord establishes him as critical in his methods or progressive in his spirit. These are

> No dead facts stranded on the shore
> Of the oblivious years,

but truths tested in the laboratory of human experience. "Jesus Christ and him crucified" is the very heart of that religious reality whose testimony made the New Testament and built the Church. Let no one dream that any criticism, either of the record or the institution, can touch the facts that created both. The preacher who has lost the light of these truths from his mind and their power from his life has lost his message and should vacate his office.

The lower, or textual, criticism has compelled revision of our versions of Holy Scripture. The higher criticism should bring about still another version, the translation of divine revelation, not into letters, but into life. This version will not be made by the professor, but by the preacher. The Bible will then be no longer the "dear old Book," but the youngest and most contemporaneous of all books, with the dew of the morning upon it, the sweetness of the springtime in its messages, and the angel of the resurrection forever rolling the stone away from the perpetual new birth of its meaning. Revelation must be transferred from the past to the present tense. Our Holy Land must be all about us. Only an inspired volume can stand such a translation. Paul has taught us that the ministry of the New Testament is just this lifting the veil from the ancient testimony, that the message graven in stone shall be fulfilled and superseded by the living epistle written in hearts by the Holy Spirit and read by all men in holy lives.[2] A prophetic ministry will give us an eternal gospel and make all men contemporary with the saving facts of Christianity. Nothing but these living Bibles of human lives can fully vindicate the Bible of our fathers.

Conclusion

Times of transition in thought are indeed times of trial to the Church and of testing to its teaching. They involve great peril to much that is held precious, but they also hold great promise. We

[2] 2 Cor. 3. 2, 3.

were horrified at the excisions made in the vineyard by the pruning-knife, but the purple clusters of autumn vindicated the method. The Church has always been most aggressively active in the days of doctrinal and institutional reconstruction. In vineyard and orchard the fruit always grows on the new wood. All the swiftest advances, both in material and moral progress, are made in analytic rather than synthetic periods. The heretics of to-day are very often the prophets of to-morrow. The noblest discoveries of power have always been made by the men who bravely broke with tradition in loyalty to truth. The ways of the Spirit are never static, but always dynamic. It is in such times that the creative Spirit of God is moving on the face of the waters and commanding from the chaos of our confused thinking the apparition of a new heaven and a new earth.

I looked: aside the dust-cloud rolled,
The Waster seemed the builder too;
Upspringing from the ruined Old,
I saw the New.

'Twas but the ruin of the bad—
The wasting of the wrong and ill;
Whate'er of good the old time had
Was living still.

. . . . . .

Take heart! the Waster builds again—
A charmèd life old Goodness hath;
The tares may perish, but the grain
Is not for death.[3]

Surely, such a time should see a renascence of the divine art of preaching. Certainly, the sermon does not to-day hold a high place in popular esteem. Some phases of church life have doubtless assisted in this decadence of the pulpit. The complicated social and secular organization of the modern church often seeks for pastor a man of the "promoter" type, the skillful organizer and strong executive. Another type of congregation calls for a gentlemanly usher, cleverly adroit in all the etiquette of the sanctuary and of society. There is great danger that such a ministry will cease to be a Voice. The preacher who surrenders to any secular theory of his calling will soon become a mere phonograph to repeat parrotlike a set of conventional opinions. He will preach what he is expected to preach. Like the parson described in Tennyson's "Northern Farmer,"

[3] J. G. Whittier, "The Reformer."

I 'eered 'um a bummin awaäy like a buzzard clock ower my 'eäd. . . . An' I thowt a said whot a owt to a' said, an' I coomed awaäy.

He is like a barrel organ on whose cylinder are pegged out a few tunes born of homiletic tradition. Give such a man a new conception of the Bible, let him feel it throbbing with human life and thrilling with a divine message, let its message become no archaic deposit carefully handed down from generation to generation, but a living experience wrought in his own soul, and he may become like the great church organ with its countless stops and keys, through which the whole world of holy harmony and melody sleeping in the air of history and life can be expressed. The preacher of to-morrow must be a true prophet of God, translating the common life of the world into the terms of the Spirit; he will be an inspired herald of the kingdom of heaven upon earth.

THE HOUSE OF THE INTERPRETER

In this issue of the Review we are presenting some studies in the divine philosophy of history based on the prophetic histories of Israel and Judah. Perhaps they may serve as suggestions of sermon themes for November, the Home Mission month, as we approach Thanksgiving Day. These are followed by two attempts at the practical interpretation of the Christmas message.

National Defense

The reign of Jehoshaphat is a lesson in what constitutes the strongest defense of nations. God is the true fortress and strength of his people. Jehoshaphat waged no aggressive warfare, but simply made this war cry, "The battle is not yours, but God's," and "the fear of Jehovah fell" on the surrounding kingdoms. Morality and piety are the mightiest army and navy that any country can possess. If we will make our land an Eden of holiness, God will set his cherubim with flaming sword to guard its gates. Our one omnipotent alliance is with the King of kings.

Religion is not only the sole safeguard of national perpetuity, but it is the only inspiration of individual fidelity. Jehoshaphat took away the high places and set himself against the current toward unclean idolatrous worship, but he had also the sense to know that real reform must be by the creation of individual piety and intelli-

gence. And so he was the first sovereign of history to set up a system of public instruction. (2 Chron. 17. 1-6, 9-13.) Wise legislation is futile without a parallel reformation of character. Father Taylor once said, in substance, that you might "put all the liquor in the world into a cave and roll a planet to the door, and so long as appetite exists it would continually have infernal resurrections." Children cannot be trained nor men restrained by the perpetual iteration of "Don't!" Nothing but faithful teaching, moral, intellectual, and religious, can secure the success of wholesome laws.

The composition of Jehoshaphat's educational commission is both interesting and instructive. He appointed five public officers (princes), nine official members of the Church (Levites), and two ministers (priests). And these went through the land holding itinerant schools, or Chautauqua assemblies, "having the book of the law of Jehovah with them." When our public officers and laymen join the ministers of religion as preachers and teachers of righteousness, we have the highest assurance of the success of real reform and the surest guarantee of national prosperity and perpetuity. There is no more hopeful sign for the future of America than the fact that in recent years men like Bryan, Roosevelt, and many governors, senators, and other public men, have been proclaiming the law of the Lord from countless platforms all over the land.

The present military and naval program of the United States calls for an expenditure during the next thirty years of an amount almost exactly equal to the indemnity imposed upon Germany to make good the ruins in France and Belgium. We propose to pay for preparation as much as a criminal nation for reparation! A tithe of that amount expended upon education, public health, and social welfare would make America invulnerable.

Jehoshaphat "sought to the Lord God of his fathers." God is the only true bond of souls, linking the centuries and the generations. Our noblest heredity is in him. This is the best blood, outranking all aristocracies. It is the just pride of our American national lineage that it had its beginning in believing Christian hearts. The shadowy hands of the past are stretched over us in perpetual benedictions. It is only the good things of the past that should be imitated and perpetuated. Jehoshaphat "walked in the *first* ways of his father, David"; all the ways of David were not equally admirable or worthy of imitation. "His heart was lifted up in the ways of Jehovah." Lifted up, not with sinful pride, but

with loyal love. His heart inspired his brain to great thoughts and his hand to noble deeds.

> It is the heart and not the brain
> That to the highest doth attain.

The chronicler was not a dry-as-dust searcher of archives, supremely interested in the verification of insignificant details; he was a devout soul inspired to read the history of his nation in the light of the divine purpose. He was one of the earliest to have a philosophy of history and to find its profoundest truth in its religious interpretation.

"Righteousness Exalteth a Nation"

Out of the history of Israel and Judah and out of the early literary prophets there might be compiled a complete statesman's manual. That history is an extended comment on the text, "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." It continually illustrates the maxim of Burke, "That cannot be politically right which is morally wrong."

Especially are these principles recognized in the records of the reign of Asa, king of Judah (2 Chron. 14th and 15th Chapters). Early in his reign he led his army against an invasion by Zerah, the Ethiopian, who headed a host immeasurably stronger than that of Judah in numerical strength and material equipment. Asa's prayer is a model: "Lord, it is nothing for thee to help, whether with many or with them that have no power." His victory was as complete as when the little craft of Elizabeth, aided by the winds of God, scattered the Spanish Armada. It is not true, as Napoleon affirmed, that "God is with the strongest battalions." The history of all moral reform is that of heroic minorities who have rested on the unseen might of a holy God. The fight against the selfish cruelty of the liquor traffic is as sure to win as ever the conflict for the abolition of human slavery. The strength and supremacy of moral forces are as much a political as a religious doctrine.

Yet it is interesting to note that this same Asa, with all his loyalty to Jehovah, found it more easy to conquer a foreign foe than to extirpate domestic evils. Under the reign of Rehoboam and his successors there had grown up a system of social and religious rottenness absolutely atrocious in its foulness and appalling in its magnitude. Asa, the hero of a successful foreign war, did not have

of himself the courage to fight the more dangerous foes within his own frontiers. A vigorous foreign policy is always the jingo substitute for the thorough house cleaning needed by political pollution, business dishonor, and social foulness. It is easier to build a big navy and organize military strength than to purge the Augean stables of public and private vice. To be sure, it is an unpleasant task to flush the foul nests of the workers of iniquity and flutter the dirty brood that infests them.

God roused the king to the more difficult and nobler task of internal reform by sending him a prophetic messenger. Azariah, the son of Oded, was an early example of that great race of religious statesmen the Hebrew prophets. He comes reciting the lessons of early Hebrew history, especially in the time of the Judges, when Israel was without God and without law, and tells the dire consequence that ensued. And then followed a stirring exhortation, "Be strong and let not your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded." There is no policy that can succeed in the face of national degeneracy but that of utter fearlessness and thorough radicalism in reform. "When Asa heard those words he took courage."

Had Azariah any business to meddle with politics? Have the ministers of God the duty only of sowing good seed and no responsibility for the extirpation of noxious weeds? The true prophet of God must be a stern monitor of unfaithful or faltering rules and a preacher of political as well as personal righteousness. A faithful pulpit is worth more to a nation than any number of "Dreadnaughts" or the most amazing commercial prosperity. The real wealth of a state is in its manhood and womanhood. For above all political prestige, military glory, or material achievements is the character of a nation's citizenship. No government was ever destroyed because it was weak in arms or poor in purse. Sin is the assassin of nations; sin is the highway robber on the track of time. The true saviors of the state are the holy hearts and inspired tongues that aid in the making of manhood.

Prosperity and peace come in the wake of reform. "The Lord gave them rest round about." One of the blindest of all delusions is the claim that certain vices created by covetousness, intrenched in appetite and passion, and linked with financial interests, are essential to the material prosperity of a community. The wide open towns are not the most prosperous. A good strong lid and a big man to sit on it would be a signal for a business revival in many cities.

Even the great corporations are beginning to learn the economic value of sobriety and moral decency. Kansas, that great experiment station for all sorts of reform, is not the least prosperous of American states.

Jeroboam in the northern kingdom had given the people a new religious festival as a political device. But in the kingdom of Judah the people themselves, blessed of the Lord, spontaneously made their own feast of gladness. And the folks of Ephraim and Manasseh liked it better than the machine-made religion of their own country. And so immigrants came in by the thousand. To the cause of Asa the true hearts of all the surrounding lands rallied, "when they saw that the Lord was with him." Said righteousness is the key to all national growth, whether in wealth or population.

The Statesmanship of God

The story of the downfall of Samaria is a sermon on the statesmanship of God (2 Kings 17th Chapter). In the record of the prophetic historian who compiled the books of the Kings, and in the messages of the great literary prophets of the eighth century before our Lord we get the first glimpse of a divine philosophy of history. Israel, no longer isolated, comes into collision with the great world powers of Assyria and Egypt, and wins from the contact a wider vision of the meaning of her own life. By tragic ways of suffering she comes to fulfill her mission, that "in thee shall all nations of the earth be blessed." To quote the pregnant phrase of Lecky, "to widen imagination is ethical advance." Out of the wreckage of a nation's woe is built the beacon that shall lighten all the world.

The true glory of a people is its goodness. "Righteousness exalteth a nation." On the other hand, sin is the assassin of nations. Samaria, "the crown of pride at the head of the fat valleys," fell swiftly from the very summit of a merely sensuous success. The reign of Jeroboam II, with its expansion in territory and wealth, was but a splendid sunset before a stormy night, the hectic flush on the cheek of the virgin of Israel premonitory of coming death.

> Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

Moral perversity is a frequent partner of material prosperity. The greed of gain breeds injustice; the love of luxury engenders licentiousness. The day of doom comes quickly upon this time of deceitful triumph. And the vengeance of God shall fall more surely

and awfully upon his own people than on the nations that know not God. The most hopeless degeneration is in treason to opportunity; there is a corruption possible to an egg which is impossible to a stone. "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities." (Amos 3. 2.)

God uses heathen nations as the instruments of his just judgments. "O Assyria, rod of mine anger and staff of my indignation." The frenzy of the nations is a part of the statesmanship of God. "He maketh the wrath of man to praise him." The vision of world conquest, which had fallen on the nations with the dream of universal empire, unconsciously helped to fulfill the purposes of the Eternal. One throne points to one God. Sennacherib and Sargon, Sesostris and Nebuchadnezzar, like Cyrus, Alexander, and Cæsar, are servants of Jehovah preparing his way in the world.

It was a terrible tragedy, full of the fearful poetry of pity and terror. The fall of Samaria was a very orgy of suffering. The brilliant northern kingdom expired in a heroic outburst of courage and endurance. The policy pursued by the Mesopotamian empires of denationalizing their conquered provinces by deporting the flower of the population and filling their place with aliens blotted out forever the name of Israel from the roll of nations. Not that there was any wholesale transfer of population as is dreamed by the wild theorists who vapor about "ten lost tribes," for only 27,290 were removed, but the strong souls of a land are its real life. When they were taken away, the weaklings who remained easily blended with their heathen neighbors. So ended God's quarrel with Israel. Shall the Western world in the twentieth century likewise feel the scourge of God in some awful invasion of the pagan powers of eastern Asia? The only sure defense against the "yellow peril" is a real repentance at home and a mission of redemption to these awaking nationalities. Nations may go too far to be saved. The time comes when even good men may be impotent to rescue a state. Demosthenes could not save Greece, nor Jesus prevent the destruction of Jerusalem. Our time is full of prophetic voices; there is still plenty of salt to renew the decaying life of Christendom. Let us be warned in time.

It is a part of the irony of history that the pitiful puppet king of Israel, who was swept away "as the foam on the waters" by the Assyrian deluge (Hos. 10. 7), bore the same name as the greatest prophet of the period, Hosea, meaning salvation! The former is a

type of the body of Israel, which died politically, the latter of the soul of Israel, which lives forever. For the prophetic lesson abides that God, and not material prosperity, God, and not military power, God, and not a foreign alliance, is the salvation of a people.

"Good Tidings of Great Joy"

All was silent in the world of nature and all was indifferent in the world of man. No convulsion of nature or history marked the greatest birth of time. But heaven was all astir and the armies of the sky cannot contain their joy. Of all the dwellers on earth, a few humble shepherds alone see the glory light and are permitted to join in the gladness of the celestial world. It was on historic ground, where a thousand years before David had kept his father's sheep, and near the tower of the flock, where were kept those designed for the Temple offerings, that the shekinah, long withdrawn from Israel, reappears. It had flashed like a brand of fire at the gates of paradise, it had blazed in the unconsumed bush before the astonished gaze of Moses, it had glowed through the gloom of the nights in the desert to guide the advancing hosts of Israel, it had flung a luminous cloud between the cherubim above the ark of the covenant, it had filled the Temple of Solomon with its dazzling radiance, for five hundred years it had vanished, until now again its splendor bursts on the plains of Bethlehem. It was not a waste of glory to brighten the sky with angels and pour down from the steeps of the heavenly Zion cataracts of tumultuous song. For this event, so unnoted in all secular chronicle, is the watershed of human history. From thence the streams of time flow backward toward the dark; from thence the rivers of the future flow forward to swell the ocean of eternal light.

Fear was turned into joy by the advent of our Lord. To Zacharias, to Mary, to the shepherds, the angel brings one message, "Fear not." The pagan world was joyless, with a constant undertone of sadness beneath its merriest songs: this had come to its climax at the period of the coming of the Christ. The experiment of nature and of philosophy had failed. The gods of Rome and the philosophers of Greece were alike impotent to answer human need.

> On that hard pagan world disgust
> And secret loathing fell;
> Deep weariness and sated lust
> Made human life a hell.

Man was like a harp unstrung, giving back to every touch only harsh discords, but the greater Son of the great harper, David, came to restring the harp of human life and restore its lost harmonies.

Christianity is a religion of joy. It was good news to the slave, to the workman, to the child. It began with a song out of the sky, and earth soon began to vibrate in sympathy with the angelic music. Barbarism with its cruelty melts away, chains snap, dungeons crumble, fetters fall, tyrannies topple. It would be a mistake to say that there was no joy in the world before He came; there were the beauty of the sky, earth, and sea, the laughter of little children, and the dear delight of love. But he took away the bitter drop of despair that poisoned these cups of rapture, and added the new ecstasy born of his own heart of love.

The advent reveals God in a joy-giving way. God made flesh—that is the sovereign remedy for the world's fear. There was an older revelation of God; it was on a burning mountain, amid pealing thunders and shrilling trumpets, and in an awful voice that spoke solemn words of law. Even Moses, who was allowed to enter the supernal splendor, said, "I exceedingly fear and quake." But Jesus reveals the Father; that name was perpetually upon his lips and its meanings constantly unfolded in his life. When he speaks from a mountain it is to say, "Blessed, blessed, blessed!"

The advent reveals man in a joy-giving way. We do not judge a tree by the blighted trunk and blasted leaves, but by the full glory of foliage, flower, and fruit. So we do not really see the full possibilities of our manhood in the wreckage wrought by sin, but in the face of Jesus Christ. At last we see of what man is capable and what he may become. Man has received God; he has intempled the Infinite. God became the Son of Man, that man might become the child of God. What wonder that the redemption song resumes the gladness of the creation chorus, for it consummates creation. The Babe of Bethlehem discloses the full import of the primitive revelation, that man was made in the image of God.

The joy of the advent is unique, for it manifests the true glory of God. It is a strange contrast, the scene so simple and the song so sublime. Outside, the blazing shekinah and the burst of song—inside the lowly manger and the helpless Babe. The angels know better than we what constitutes true greatness. Man finds glory in climbing up, but God in coming down. The incarnation is the riddle of reason, but religion finds more of God in the Man of sorrows

than in all the splendor of opened heavens. Love is more royal than power; sacrifice is more sovereign than wisdom. He came to us by a stable door, he left by the gateway of a grave. This is the true glory of the incarnation, the true "joy to the world."

The Sages, the Star, and the Saviour

All things are prophetic to the instructed soul. Columbus could see a new world in a floating branch; to the stargazers of the Orient a new sign in the sky announced the birth of a Deliverer and King. Suetonius tells us that during the reign of Augustus "throughout the East an old and established opinion was disseminated that it was decreed by fate that they who were to possess the sovereignty of the world were to arise from Judea." The hope of Israel had filled the world with longing hearts and looking eyes.

Parseeism, the religion of Zoroaster, was perhaps the purest of the ethnic faiths outside of Judaism. These worshipers of flame found in the stars of heaven the secrets of destiny. There is an inner truth in the false science of astrology, this, that there is deep sympathy between the sensible and the spiritual worlds. When Deborah sings, "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera," it is more than splendid poetry; it is the sublime assertion that the universe is pledged to righteousness.

> Ye stars which are the poetry of heaven!
> If in your bright leaves we would read the fate
> Of men and empires—'tis to be forgiven
> That in our aspiration to be great
> Our destinies o'erleap our mortal state,
> And claim a kindred with you, for ye are
> A beauty and a mystery, and create
> In us such love and reverence from afar,
> That fortune, fame, power, life have named themselves a star.

God has various voices by which he speaks to men and guides them. A song leads humble shepherds to the Lamb of God, the inward Spirit shows Simeon the Messiah in the Babe, Joseph is taught by a dream, and the wise men by a star. God speaks to every faculty; by the roads of reason, feeling, and imagination, he finds a way to the life of man. So true wisdom leads to the Christ. "A little philosophy inclineth man's heart unto atheism, but depth of philosophy bringeth us to providence and deity."

Let knowledge grow from more to more,
But more of reverence in us dwell,
That mind to soul according well
May make one music as before.

Lichtenburg well says: "When the mind rises, it throws the body on its knees."

Nature guides to grace. The star led the sages to the holy city, where they found the holy Book which should direct them further in their search. The sky sign pointed to the place in Micah, "Thou, Bethlehem, out of thee shall come a governor whose goings forth have been from everlasting." All the words of God in spangled heavens, on sacred page, and in the face of a little child, speak the same message. "Search and see," is the demand of the intellect. The sages follow the gleam of their own star study, and we see the caravan of camels hasting across the desert wastes and up the Judean hills to the city of God and the cradle of the Christ. There may be false lights that mislead the mind of man, but all true lights of nature and reason lead at last to the Light of the world. Star, Scripture, Son, such is the threefold revelation of the redemptive purpose.

The heavens have ever been telling the glory of God. Monotheism was born in the desert, "where man is distant and God is near," and where there is nothing worth looking at but the star-studded vault of the sky. It is the one infinite thing that cannot be shut out anywhere. When Jean Bon St. André, the atheistic revolutionist, said to a Breton peasant, "We will pull down all your church steeples," the undaunted believer responded, "But you can't pull down the stars." Young said, "The undevout astronomer is mad," and Kepler, the founder of modern astronomy, exclaimed, "I think God's thoughts after him."

They sought a King; they heard a baby cry. In a small inn, in a little town of an obscure province of an enslaved people, they found the "desire of all nations." There is no higher wisdom than that which knows that bigness is not greatness. The sages see the Saviour in the young child, more glorious in his helpless infancy than any blazing meteor of their adored heavens, and "they worshiped him." True wisdom bows to the Babe and sees God in the manger. If we had insight enough to see in every newborn child a "holy thing," the incarnation would soon cease to puzzle our reason, through the light it gives to the heart. Wordsworth's apostrophe to the Child in his "Intimations of Immortality" most beautifully

expresses the truth that God could nowhere in nature or life reveal himself more perfectly than in the babe.

> Thou whose exterior semblance doth belie
> Thy soul's immensity. . . .
> Haunted forever by the eternal mind,
> Mighty Prophet! Seer blest!
> On whom those truths do rest
> Which we are toiling all our lives to find.

THE ARENA

THE FALLACIES OF PERSONAL LIBERTY AND VESTED RIGHTS

NOTHING is more alluring to the average American than the name and promise of liberty. That sacred word has condoned many a crime and concealed many a fallacy. To be told that each man possesses a realm of life that no other individual nor all combined can lawfully invade gives dignity even to a scalawag and a color of character to a criminal.

It is often assumed that the question of drink is purely a personal affair, and that any wrong done is entirely a private matter. The evils and injuries that are grudgingly conceded are placed outside of the domain of law as matters for the individual conscience, and no more subject to legislation than wicked thoughts. If this contention could have been maintained, and the drink habit classed among the inalienable rights, then legislation would have concerned itself only with the injuries actually proved in any given case, and with appropriate damages. This fallacy ignores all the fundamental principles of government and assumes a kind and degree of liberty which no man actually possesses.

Concede the right of all individuals to drink what they please, when they please, and as much as they please, and the right of the liquor seller is unassailable. If his supposed right to corrupt public morals, deaden public conscience, and develop contempt for all law proves to be a serious mistake, a creature of imagination, then the supposed personal liberty of the drinker evaporates along with it.

No one but a hermit ever possessed personal liberty. Practically the whole human race live under civil liberty. This is simply personal or individual liberty restricted and circumscribed by the rights of all other individuals, in other words, by the rights of society.

No individual has the right to do wrong, and society can never have the right to compel any one to do wrong. A privilege granted by the government to any person to do wrong cannot be a right. It is always a wrong. Personal liberty, rightly considered, is the right of the individual to choose between two right things, when both are harmless to other individuals. Civil liberty is the right of government to overrule that choice when it is seen to be more injurious to society than beneficial to

the individual. Personal liberty alone would give any person the privilege of traveling anywhere with a contagious or infectious disease; civil liberty establishes a quarantine. Personal liberty grants the privilege of erecting cheap buildings in cities; civil liberty establishes a fire limit. The one permits an entire and continuous devotion to business; the other compels men to perform jury duty and register for military service. Civil liberty compels parents to provide food, clothing, shelter, education, and medical treatment. It requires citizens to pay taxes for public improvements they can never use and probably will never see. The motto of Personal Liberty is simply, "I will do as I please." That of Civil Liberty is, "The greatest good to the greatest number." "He that loseth his life shall find it." The surrender of individual rights for the good of society results in a far greater sum of privileges for the average citizen than any other method. Life is broadened, not narrowed by law.

What benefits can the liquor business confer that will compensate for the enormous cost of drink? Collect the aggregate of supposed pleasure received by the moderate drinkers. How many moderate drinkers will be required to balance one man dying of delirium? How many drinks in youth will compensate for the lingering diseases of after life? What will pay for the heartbreak of a multiude of wives, widows, and children? In the scale of Infinite Justice, the tears of one drunkard's child will outweigh all the foaming cups of drunken revelers; and at the bar of final accounts, one sigh from a broken heart will drown all the shouts and songs of the votaries of Bacchus.

Prohibitionists have never taught or believed that the drinking of a single glass of liquor is a deadly sin. The safest logic is that which is so far within the possible conclusion that it is entirely unanswerable. The greatest Teacher did not make extreme statements condemning people as hopeless sinners. He did teach that sensible men will sit down and count the cost. Our nation has counted the cost and has decided that the benefits to the one are more than canceled by the injuries to the many, and the dreamer will soon be left behind with his air castle of Personal Liberty ruined by the forward sweep of hard facts.

"No man liveth unto himself," and no county or state can stand alone. And as the rights of the individual must be interpreted in the light of the rights of all, so no question of public interest can be settled independently of other great questions. The immigration question, the labor question, the city question, the race question, the questions of taxation, public improvements and public health, together with many others, have waited for years for their solution, and only started toward a solution when the liquor question began to fade out of sight. The complex, interlocking system we call society will no longer tolerate the groundless assumption that any citizen can remain a law unto himself or can override the happiness and safety of many for the benefit of his whims and caprices. I am my brother's keeper, both in law and ethics, and all right-minded people indorse this principle and are thankful for the larger life that has come as its natural result.

AARON S. WATKINS.

METHODISTS AND CHILD WELFARE

"Public sentiment," says the monthly bulletin of the New York State Department of Health, "is the one dynamic force of sufficient power to insure necessary compliance with health rules and regulations. Without it, health authorities cannot hope to secure adequate health law enforcement." Dr. Matthias Nicoll, Jr., deputy commissioner of the department, says: "We cannot be wise healers of the patient or the community without a large sympathy and a liberal humanism."

Child welfare work and public health work, in many of their essentials, are inseparably related. For that large sympathy and liberal humanism which develops public sentiment, to what group of citizens can our health authorities more confidently look than to the membership of the Methodist churches?

The establishment of the Methodist Child Welfare Society ten years ago was evidence of the recognition in the denomination of the opportunity for service to humanity which the well-being of our child population set before them, and in the intervening ten years evidence has steadily accumulated that our child-welfare problem is no mere child's play or idealistic dream, but an actual, all-pervading condition.

Here in America the problem may have become no more acute in these ten years than it was before, but the war and the statisticians have forced us to see how acute it is. The selective draft disclosed that 30 per cent of our young men had physical defects, the great majority of which might have been prevented or remedied in their childhood, and we also learned that among large groups 20 per cent of them could not read or write—another life-handicap which might have been spared them by only a moderate application of the most elementary form of child-welfare treatment. The statisticians have discovered that 15 to 25 per cent of our school children are undernourished, that 75 per cent of them have remediable physical handicaps, that most of the diseases of childhood can be prevented by the simplest of "horse-sense" methods, and that all death-rates from infancy to old age can be brought down by sensible, thrifty living.

To teach child-health-care and right conduct based on Christian principles in the homes of the nation, where the child-welfare problem actually exists, is one of the first tasks which the Methodist Child Welfare Society has set for itself in its newly announced program. It has determined upon this as a basic activity because so many of the ills and ailments of childhood which persist in their effects through the years of manhood and womanhood are due only to thoughtlessness, ignorance or misinformation on the part of parents—three causes of all human ills which can be readily removed by the simple expedient of providing knowledge in terms of the everyday experience of the average man and woman. This knowledge already abounds in spots, but not in many spots where it is most needed. It abounds in the proceedings of national health and welfare societies, but not yet in the homes and schools and churches. Where it now abounds it is too often concealed from the average father and mother by terms

which only the doctor of medicine or philosophy can understand. Even if expressed in simple language in such reports they are not found easily available to the average citizen.

Translated into the words of the workaday world, the basic principles of healthy, happy, and useful living are a gospel of courage and good cheer which in itself is an antidote to many ills, either real or imaginary. The normal life is healthy; it is frugal; it includes joy and freedom for the child. These in turn contribute to peace of mind of parents; for they learn that it is not lavish expenditure on luxuries that best equips the child to be an adult, but the simplest provision of the necessities. Among them is, for instance, the cheapest of all medicines, fresh air. Such a message is bound to carry cheerfulness and help. To set it before the Methodist churches of the nation, and assist them to carry it to the furthermost corners of their communities in city and country, is thus a part of the big task for which the Child Welfare Society seeks now to organize the "large sympathy and liberal humanism" of every parish.

BURDETTE B. BROWN,
Executive Secretary Methodist Child Welfare Society.

THE CHRISTMAS-EASTER PATH

IN an old mythology which, though discredited, even artistically, since the World War, is, nevertheless, part and parcel of the inheritance of many modern peoples, there is a naïve conception of an earth-heaven bridge, a rainbow over whose radiance the good sons of men journey upward, passing often as they go kind spirits earthward bent. Not so far away from truth, after all, was the ancient Goth. That much we may grant to the man of a weird past.

For to us, sophisticated creatures of a later day, ages removed from the prehistoric glint of truth, there comes, in the dawning era of social justice, of world-remaking, the fascination of a heaven-born vision of a way of light, a radiant path of life between two worlds, each typified by two great festivals. The first festival is because of joy coming into this world, the other because of joy in another world. It is at Christmas time in a great city that we see the starting of the way. We see it in the gleam of slowly lighting candles, in the call of chime and trumpet, in the joy of carols chanted on the portico of a venerable church, or wind-tossed, through all the evening hours, along frosty streets which are the line of march of singing thousands.

We see it in the fragrant greenness of pine, fir, balsam, set in home windows aglow or ranked in rows of beauty in transept and chancel of stately churches.

We see it in pageantry, as, in the crisp night air, beneath a sculptured tower, the shepherds and the Wise Men seek the manger. And we see it while a multitude which has looked upon the pageant chants:

O come, let us adore him,
O come, let us adore him,
O come, let us adore him, Christ the Lord.

From the veriest brownie-clad youngster perched on the shoulder of his father, that he may catch the shine of the star, to the weariest old man who hobbles away on his stumpy cane, there is in the shrine of the soul a sense of something more than has been seen or heard or sung. For star and candles, evergreens sweet with the breath of the forest, the sculptured tower with its saints alight, the mystic pageant of the Orient, with its magi, shepherds, angels, the joyful carols of eager-faced men and women, all these are but gleams of the truth shrined deep in every soul. Even the baby wonder about the tree and, maybe, about mythical old Santa Claus, shows the groping of a tiny mind toward a marvel greater, even, than the glories he has seen.

It is in church, of a Christmas Day, after the songs of the radiant Eve, that the vision of the Christmas-Easter path grows clear. For there to those who hear is given in one church, which should be the type of all, the vision of Christmas joy, sorrow-born, service-destined, tender of soul, strong of heart, which leads to newness of life. And that is Easter. From the reverence of the service, worshipers go away thinking not of Christmas merely as a happy time, an annual festival of song and gladness, of peace and good will, come once more and now about gone.

Even some souls, sorrow-steeped and lonely, behold the shining of the Christmas-Easter path. And all the valiant-hearted, looking trustingly at life, make their adventure of service which, beginning with the jubilation of Christmas, leads to the solemn, death-conquering, life-discovering joy of Easter. On through the winter, with its ending in Lent, go those who have seen the vision, keeping, by kindly service to help-hungry people, the glory shrined in eager hearts. When the rains come and the snows, when the tempests clutch at the dwellings of men, the clear-souled, still seeing in their minds' eye the path of light, and looking, Sir Launfals, as they are, for the Holy Grail, find it not, maybe, as they share a crust with a veritable beggar, but as they comfort a little one or a wearied soul. Perhaps it is a tiny Italian girl, longing to become a "realla Americana," who is taught to sew. Perhaps it is a street boy to whom there is given a big brother of help. Perhaps it is an ex-service man into whose life, disordered and shocked by a tragedy not of his making, there comes a force bringing calmness, hope, useful living. It may be a Lithuanian mother who is taught how to bathe and dress her child, how to grow, herself, in womanliness. And it may be a trouble-sick soul which is brought into a place of peace. Along their way, those who serve find these and others, all ripe for help. In the comforting of these there is the blossoming of the Christmas joy, the "Adeste Fideles" translated in terms of life.

With this service, because it is genuine, come the Gethsemane of the soul and its Calvary and its Easter. Then, from those who travel the Christmas-Easter path, comes the chorus of rejoicing, vital with the spiritual adventure of the ages:

> Lovingly needing him, brotherly speeding him, preaching, succeeding him,
> Thus is the Master near, thus is he here.

Baltimore, Md. GRACE LOUISE ROBINSON.

BIBLICAL RESEARCH

RECENT COMMENTARIES ON JOB

The Book of Job. Its origin, growth and interpretation, together with a new translation based on a revised text. By MORRIS JASTROW, Jr., Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. Octavo, pp. 369.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Book of Job, together with a new translation. By the late SAMUEL ROLLES DRIVER, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Hon. D.Litt., Cambridge and Dublin, Hon. D.D., Glasgow and Aberdeen, Fellow of the British Academy, and GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY, D.Litt., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Mansfield College and Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint, Oxford, Hon. D.D., Aberdeen. In two volumes. Vol. I, pp. lxxviii and 376; Vol. II, pp. xii and 360. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THE Book of Job is the supreme artistic flower of the literature of Israel, and its supremacy in poetic power and beauty is so great that there is no second to it, no competitor for even the least of its laurels. In religious influence upon the souls of men it is second to the Psalter, which speaks to all men as Job to the few. Yet great, splendidly great as is Job, it is but little studied in American theological seminaries. The uninspiring gentry who now inhabit them as alleged students are in large and increasing measure unwilling to study any Hebrew, and the few who do would quail before the mountainous difficulties of Job's grammatical characteristics. In Germany before the great war (I do not know what is the present situation) all the theological faculties offered instruction in it, and no man was likely to secure the much coveted Licentiate in Theology who could not read it. Let us pray that Jewish theological seminaries may serve to keep Hebrew learning alive until some revolution may produce a new Reuchlin to reestablish the higher learning among us. Until that day dawn the few remaining Old Testament scholars will do well to sing low, and creep noiselessly out of their caves to conserve whatever little Old Testament learning may survive, by teaching the Old Testament in English. O, most sad and impotent conclusion! O most dreary and pathetic job! But behold here are two new commentaries on the Book of Job, and the liberty to speak freely about them. To me these are living books in the sense that two of their three authors were personal friends of mine, and are now passed into the unseen, and the third, who yet survives in the very plenitude of his powers, is still.

Professor Jastrow was an American Orientalist of the first rank. He was born in Poland, of Jewish parents, who brought him to America as a youth, together with his younger brother Joseph, the well-known psychologist, professor in the University of Wisconsin. Their father, Marcus Jastrow, was the respected and beloved rabbi of an important Jewish

synagogue in Philadelphia, and was no less admired by Christians than by his own people. He was a man of prodigious learning, welcome always among Christian scholars, especially in the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, of which he was one of the founders—easily the foremost organization of its kind in America. At its meetings no appeal to him for a passage out of the Hebrew Bible ever lacked immediate and correct answer. I have, indeed, never met his equal in a facile use of the massoretic text or in the ability to supply at once a reference to it. He edited A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature (London and New York, 1886-1903) and for long and useful years was chief editor of the Jewish English Version of the Old Testament, published since his death, which occurred in 1903. His son, Morris, had the immense initial advantage of birth in a learned house. He was soundly educated in the University of Pennsylvania in its old classical course, and having studied in the University of Breslau, received the Doctorate of Philosophy at Leipzig. He began his career as an Arabist, having had the advantage of instruction in the most difficult of the Semitic languages under the greatest Arabic scholar of the day, Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer. He later earned richly deserved repute as an Assyriologist and wrote much upon the Old Testament both learned and popular. His sudden death in the summer of 1920 is a sore loss to Oriental scholarship in America. He wrote a Commentary on the book of Ecclesiastes under the title A Gentle Cynic, and has now given us a similar commentary on the Book of Job.

It would have been a great pleasure to me to praise this book unstintedly, and it is with the keenest regret that I must say quite candidly that I believe it to be wrongly conceived, based upon false critical textual principles, and proposing a solution of the problems of the book impossible to recommend to students or to general readers. Let me try to define within the narrow limits of time and space my meaning. Professor Jastrow takes this great book and subjects it to a reediting which produces in the end not the Book of Job hitherto known, but a new Book of Job. That he has really not edited an existing book but produced a new one Professor Jastrow knows quite well. Here's the way he expresses it in the preface: "I am aware that to many, as I suggest at various points in my study, it will seem startling as well as painful, to be asked to lay aside views which have the force of time-honored tradition and to look at the great masterpiece from a new and unaccustomed angle. But I am also in hopes that after carefully considering the justification brought forward for the interpretation and for the new translation, my readers will reach the conclusion that the new Job is a greater masterpiece than the traditional one, because relieved of contradictions and freed from inherent difficulties that persist under the traditional view of the book." Let us see what this means in practice. Professor Jastrow begins by removing from the book the prose sections on the subjective ground that they present to us different Jobs from the Job that appears in the poetical sections. The next step is to declare that the book consisted at one time only of chapters 3-21; "then enlarged by a third series

of speeches, chapters 22-27, with chapters 29-31 to form a supplement to the original book and chapter 28 as a separate insertion" (p. 30, footnote). If this is a radical conclusion, what shall we think of what might have been, when we see that Jastrow actually raises the question as to whether the book did not originally consist of only one cycle of speeches, but happily decides against this hypothesis? But even the part which he accepts finally as original, that is, the two cycles, is not a book by an author known or unknown, but is the product of a circle of friends skeptical in their views of God and providence. To make the case still worse for students of a literary masterpiece, Jastrow believes that the original book was subjected to a "manipulation . . . in the course of the long period elapsing between the first draft and the final form, with the view of making the book more palatable to Jewish orthodoxy" (pp. 9, 10), and that, partially as the result of this, and partially because "the text of a poetic composition is more liable to corruption than that of a prose narrative" (p. 9), there resulted extensive corruption of the text—so much so that Jastrow declares that "it is no exaggeration to say that barring the two introductory chapters, which tell the story of Job in prose form, and the prose epilogue at the end of the book, there are not ten consecutive verses in the symposium between Job and his friends, or in the speeches of Elihu, or in the magnificent closing chapters placed as speeches in the mouth of Yahweh, the text of which can be regarded as correct (p. 9).

Let it be remembered that these are the fundamental principles on which Jastrow has approached the book which he is to explain and elucidate, and then let us see what the results are. It is indeed a new Job which results and not the book to which we have been accustomed either in the original Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Authorized Version, the Revised Version, or in the commentaries of a moderate scholar like Davidson, a radical like Dahm, or in the Jewish Version, nor in the Commentary by Driver and Gray of which I desire to speak later in this notice. It is rather a new Job, in many places so changed as to be unrecognizable at the first or even at the second look. In the correction of the text Jastrow has been deeply influenced by Arnold B. Ehrlich, who has left seven volumes of *Randglossen* (marginal notes) to the Hebrew Bible. "If I were to have made full acknowledgment to Ehrlich in the notes to my translation, his name would have appeared on every page" (p. 16). Now there cannot be two opinions about the learning of Ehrlich, who had that sort of scholarship which combined a minute acquaintance with the grammar and lexicography of Hebrew with that much rarer quality of "feeling" for its spirit. But it does not at all follow as a necessary conclusion that Ehrlich's numerous emendations of the text are worthy of frequent adoption. Conjectural emendation is a fascinating temptation and most of those who from time to time have been occupied with ancient languages have succumbed to it at times. If indulged, it nearly always leads the man who practices it into greater and ever greater use until he awakes to find himself rewriting ancient literature, or is reminded by some candid friend that nobody is likely blindly to follow him to such lengths. Let us take a concrete example of how Jastrow has rewritten the book. I choose the

extremely difficult passage Job 19. 23-26 and set down the Revised Version and Jastrow's side by side:

Oh that my words were now written!
Oh that they were inscribed in a book!
That with iron pen and lead
They were graven in the rock forever!
But as for me, I know that my redeemer liveth,
And at last he shall stand up upon the earth;
And after my skin, *even* this *body*, is destroyed,
Then without my flesh shall I see God.

Oh that my words could be inscribed,
Graven for all times in the rock.
Then I would know that my defender will arise,
Even though he arise in the distant future.
Only under *my* skin is this indited,
And within my flesh do I see these [words].

I am not at all sure that I know what Jastrow's version really means, nor do I see any solid justification for it, or any sufficient defense of it in the footnotes which accompany it. I wish now to compare and contrast with this the translation which Gray offers in the Commentary by Driver and himself. Here it is:

Oh, would, then, that my words were written!
Oh would that they were inscribed in a book!
That with an iron pen and lead
They were forever graven in the rock!
But I know that my vindicator liveth,
And that hereafter he will stand up upon the dust
And . . . . . .
And away from my flesh I shall behold God.

The omission of one line shows how "obscure and uncertain" it is, and testifies as well to the difficulty of the whole passage, but this translation as a whole seems to me immeasurably to be preferred to Jastrow's. But I have said enough, perhaps too much. I have said it very regretfully, but I cannot truthfully commend the book.

It is now fully time to turn to the book of Driver and Gray. Driver was the greatest Hebrew scholar of his day, and his unsurpassed learning was matched by and mated with a temper so cautious and a wisdom so sure that everything which came from his pen deserved, and in all reasonable quarters always received, an ungrudging welcome and in general a grateful acceptance. He had marvelous skill in the weighing of evidence, and self restraint in the expression of a conclusion once formed. He united extraordinary grammatical and lexical authority with a delicate appreciation of literary values, and crowned both capacities with spiritual insight and religious feeling. His commentaries on some of the biblical books are not likely to be surpassed in any early day, and his loss remains irreparable. He has left pupils who need not here be specifically named who carry on his tradition while each maintains his own individuality, and so his work lives on in lives as well as in letters. To Driver the writing of the commentary on Job for the International Critical series was early assigned, and all who knew him either personally or in his works waited

impatiently for the book. In August, 1912, he began work on it and went on with characteristic devotion and fortitude after illness began, and at last in January, 1914, perceived that his illness was serious and gave then directions that the book should be completed by other hands, and his expressed choice was that his distinguished pupil, George Buchanan Gray, should fulfill this pious but exceedingly difficult task. The result is before us in this big book published in two volumes in America and in one volume in England. Professor Gray distinguishes carefully in the Preface his own work from Driver's, and in general it may here be said that by far the greater part of the big book is Gray's, for he has written the whole of the very extended Introduction, most of the commentary, and has made many additions to the philological notes. The resulting book is still a noble memorial to Driver, but it is also a monument to Gray's exact, sober, extensive, and profound scholarship, and is quite indispensable to all serious students of the glorious Book of Job. The philological notes have not only never been surpassed in any commentary on the book, they have never been equaled. They are a splendid vindication of English scholarship as compared with all or anything that the Germans have done with this book, and they are a superb example of the scholarship of these two men. O, how I should like to read them with a small class of eager students comparing, verifying and sounding their depths. What a course in grammar, lexicography and textual criticism that would be! By the way has any theological seminary of any Protestant church such a body of students? The exegetical notes are to a certain degree dwarfed by these philological notes. Professor Gray has not told me so, but I should suppose that he would have been glad to write more fully on many verses, but felt the cruel compulsion of the high cost of composition and of paper, and was therefore compelled to leave unsaid much that might otherwise have found expression. It is for this reason, perhaps, that relatively less is said concerning the poem as literature. To supplement it on this side students might well consult with it A. B. Davidson's work in the Cambridge Bible for Schools, in which there still remain many observations which one would not willingly let die.

Gray's treatment of the critical problems seems to me admirable. Naught has escaped him of all that his predecessors have written, and upon them all he has formed a sober judgment and expressed it lucidly. He decides, in common with nearly all modern students, that the Elihu speeches were not a part of the original book. I am still frankly in doubt, having long held the same view, but latterly, chiefly perhaps under Budde's arguments, have had a strong leaning toward the opinion that the Elihu speeches are original. The matter is important, for our view of the author's purpose must be much conditioned upon this vexed question. But I am quite willing to let the editor have his way about the Elihu speeches in gratitude for his defense of the great speech of Yahweh, rejected by Jastrow. Gray says, "The speeches of Elihu may be removed without causing a tremor to the structure of the book; but without some speech of Yahweh the structure falls to pieces. The book as a finished structure can never have closed with c. 31 (or 37); a speech of Yahweh is the natural,

if not the necessary sequel to Job's closing soliloquy; and a speech of Yahweh is certainly presupposed in the opening words of the Epilogue (42. 7)" [p. xlviii]. To this he adds the conclusion, "On the whole, then, 38. 39 together with 40. 2-5 and 42. 2-6 appear to be integral to the book, but 40. 6—42. 1 for reasons given in the commentary are probably later additions" (p. xlix). He also preserves the prose Prologue and the Epilogue as original. As over against Jastrow we therefore have the Book of Job substantially as we have always known it, preserved intact, with these relatively small omissions, and we have the whole book explained with all that the best modern scholarship can produce. I have already said that the book is indispensable to all who would or should really know the Book of Job. It remains only that I offer Professor Gray congratulations upon an achievement which cannot fail to enhance his reputation, and to felicitate all the friends of the lamented and irreplaceable Dr. Driver that his last contribution to learning has been so carefully preserved and presented with such pious care.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

THE "SYNAGOGUE OF THE LIBERTINES"

IN June, 1920, M. Clermont-Ganneau communicated to the Paris Academy of Inscriptions an inscription discovered shortly before in Jerusalem, which is of such unusual interest for New Testament studies that we print it here in a transcription of the Greek text (restored letters are indicated by brackets) and a literal translation.[1]

ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ ΟΥΕΤΤΗΝΟΥ ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ
Α[Ρ]ΧΙΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΣΥΝ[ΑΓΩ]
Γ[Ο]Υ ΥΙΟΝΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΣΥΝ[Α]ΓΩΓΟΥ [ΩΙ]ΚΟ
ΔΟΜΗΣΕ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΝΑΓΩΓ[Η]Ν ΕΙΣ ΑΝ[ΑΓ]ΝΩ
Σ[Ι]Ν ΝΟΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ [Δ]ΙΔΑΧ[Η]Ν ΕΝΤΟΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ
Τ[Ο]Ν ΞΕΝΩΝΑ ΚΑ[Ι ΤΑ] ΔΩΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΧΡΗ
Σ[Τ]ΗΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΥΔΑΤΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΚΑΤΑΛΥΜΑ ΤΟΙ
Σ [Χ]ΡΗΖΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΞΕ[Ν]ΗΣ ΗΝ ΕΘΕΜΕ
Λ[ΙΩ]ΣΑΝ ΟΙ ΠΑΤΕΡΕΣ [Α]ΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΘΙ ΠΡΕ
Σ[Β]ΥΤΕΡΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΙΜΩΝΙΔΗΣ

Theodotus, of (the family of) Vettienus, priest and ruler of the synagogue, son of a ruler of the synagogue, grandson of a ruler of the synagogue, built the synagogue for the reading of the Law and for the teaching of the commandments, as well as the inn, the apartments and the water-works, for the comfort of those from abroad needing it; (synagogue) whose foundations had been laid by his fathers, by the elders and by Simonides.

Theodotus records here his erection of a synagogue and an inn: possibly the oldest example of an "institutional church" on record. The family name of this ancient philanthropist, Vettienus, permits us to fix

[1] See Revue des Études Juives, vol. lxxi, pp. 30ff. and 46ff. (articles of R. Weiland Th. Reinach).

approximately the date of the inscription. Vettienus was a well-known Roman usurer in Cicero's time. When Pompey captured Jerusalem in 64 B. C., a great number of Jews were brought to Rome in captivity and sold into slavery. The ancestor of Theodotus must have been sold or allotted to Vettienus. About the year 60 B. C. he was freed (as many other of those slaves were released not long after their capture, according to Philo) and, as customary, adopted the name of his former master, Vettienus (in Greek Οὐεττήνος). The third generation after this event would bring us to about 45 A. D., which is the approximate date of our inscription (Th. Reinach).

This synagogue built by Theodotus, according to some scholars, is that famous "Synagogue of the Libertines," some of whose members disputed with Stephen (Acts 6. 9). And this seems very plausible: the "Libertines" were the descendants of those captives of Pompey that had been set free (Schürer, Gesch. Jud. Volk. last edit. II, 502; III, 84), as Theodotus was, and his synagogue was built for the use of Hellenistic Jews coming from abroad.

The worship in the synagogues of the apostolic age is exactly defined in this inscription: it included only "the reading of the Law and the teaching of the commandments"; prayer was offered (in Jerusalem) only in the temple: "Now Peter and John went up together into the temple at the hour of prayer . . ."

For the "Libertines" coming to Jerusalem for the celebration of the great annual feasts, or for other reasons, Theodotus provided a hostelry or caravanserai (ξενῶνα) with very simple accommodations for the average pilgrim and his beasts (compare Luke 2. 7) and special "suites" (δώματα) for distinguished guests.

The late Prof. C. M. Cobern has not published, in his excellent The New Archeological Discoveries and Their Bearing upon the New Testament, a document that makes the early apostolic age live again before us more vividly than the inscription of Theodotus, the son of Vettienus.

R. H. Pfeiffer.

Cambridge, Mass.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

THEOLOGY AT GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

In spite of the very great economic difficulties of the times, the German universities at present show a remarkable increase in the number of students as compared with the status just before the war. This increase is shared in varying measure by all the faculties except that of Protestant theology. Here there has been a decided falling off; yet even so the number is considerably above the low level of some fifteen years ago. The chief cause of the decline is doubtless the painful uncertainty as to the material provision for the clergy in a disestablished church. The situation would now be much worse than it is, if the government had

not made a temporary provision for the clergy. The theological faculties, however, remain a part of the university organization.

Since the war the relative popularity of the different faculties of theology shows some marked changes as compared with the situation before the war. Tübingen, which even in 1914 stood first, has now fairly distanced all her rivals. On the other hand, Halle, for perhaps the first time in her history, has fallen as low as fifth place in the number of theological students. Erlangen and Göttingen have made decided relative gains.

The personality of the faculties has changed much in recent years. A year or more ago two of the most eminent theologians of their generation, Herrmann and Haering, retired from active service. About the same time Eck in Giessen, and a little later also Gustav Ecke in Bonn did the same; not long afterwards both Eck and Ecke died. All four of these men held chairs of systematic theology. Mayer, formerly of Strasbourg, has succeeded Eck at Giessen, Ecke's chair at Bonn remains vacant (the department being thus left wholly in the hands of the liberal Otto Ritschl), Herrmann's successor at Marburg is Rudolf Otto, while at Tübingen Haering's chair is filled by Karl Heim. Except for the decided displeasure among the conservatives at the elimination of Ecke's chair, these appointments are regarded with a good deal of satisfaction. Moreover, it was not difficult to find a suitable successor for Heim at Münster and for Otto at Breslau, while Mayer came from a university that had passed out of German control. But now comes the new Prussian law retiring all university professors of that state above the age of 65. This affects the ten Protestant theological faculties of Prussia, but of course not the seven belonging to other German states. This law at once removes from the active ranks more than a dozen professors of Protestant theology. Five of them belong to the Berlin faculty, namely Harnack, Baudissin, Kaftan, Strack and Kunze. Among those in other faculties are such men as Kattenbusch in Halle, König in Bonn, and Budde in Marburg. At any time an emergency of this sort would involve grave difficulties, but it is especially so at the present time. Since 1914 comparatively few men have been in a position to prepare themselves for the academic career. Besides, the mortality in the Protestant theological faculties of Germany has been unusually high in recent years. Several of the younger men and also one old man (Caspar René Gregory) lost their lives in the war. Also an unusual number died from natural causes, among them Johannes Weiss in Heidelberg, Brieger and Hauck in Leipzig, Bousset in Giessen, and Cornill in Halle. Many of the vacancies caused by death or by retirement have been or can be very satisfactorily filled. Berlin is fortunate to secure a Sellin, Halle a Gunkel, Tübingen a Heim, Marburg an Otto. But then come the vacancies in the second line. The supply of really competent men will be exhausted before the end is reached.

The professors and *privat docenten* of the former theological faculty at Strasbourg have received appointments in the universities of Germany, except three, who, adhering to France, have accepted chairs in the new

French faculty there. The dissolution of the German Lutheran faculty at Dorpat occasioned the calling of Girgensohn, an admirable systematic theologian, to Greifswald. It will be of interest to note that Otto is the recipient of simultaneous calls to Berlin and Halle. There is something curious in the fact that after Heitmüller left Marburg for Bonn, four men were called in succession to take his chair in Marburg before one was found to accept. Also Harnack's chair in Berlin has been declined by Lietzmann of Jena, and it is not certain that it will be accepted by Scheel of Tübingen, to whom it has next been offered.

For a score of years before the war the liberal theologians of Prussia often complained that the government systematically favored the conservatives in the matter of academic preferment. Now, however, the like complaint is heard from the other side. The policy of the Prussian government in the matter of the theological faculties is largely determined by Troeltsch, who, in connection with his Berlin professorship, is an under secretary in the Department of Education.

Since 1914 the literary output of the theological scholars has naturally been much diminished. Just as naturally, too, it has assumed an altered character. Where works representing profound research have been published in these last years, they are really the fruits of the quieter period before the war. Nearly all recent productions have some special reference to the practical problems of the day.

The new German constitution, as was noted above, expressly provides for the continuance of theological faculties as integral parts of the universities in spite of the fact that the church has been disestablished. Yet there is an obvious incongruity in the situation. Why should the state maintain and control theological faculties, when there is no longer a state church? Hence the question continually emerges in the minds of interested observers, whether the theological faculties may not, after a time, be severed from the universities and pass under the control of the church. It is possible that in the end this would be a good arrangement; for the present, however, it would be a calamity. The church is only just beginning to find herself after her emancipation from the state. Until the contending ecclesiastical parties shall have discovered some modus vivendi, the theological faculties could have no rest nor security under the control of the church. The emancipated church, conscious of her tremendous tasks and struggling to accomplish them, cannot fail to produce vigorous thinkers, but the organization and maintenance of theological faculties is quite another matter.

But in fact the theological faculties are remaining an integral part of the university organization. Moreover, they must henceforth bear the character of state institutions even more than before. For now the appointments to professorships are made by a ministry of state that no longer has any relation to the church. Formerly it was the "Kultusministerium" (Department of Worship) that controlled the affairs both of the church and of the universities; now there is no "Minister of Worship," but instead a "Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung" (Department of Learning, Art, and Public Education). But in spite of

the fact that the voice of the church seems destined to be even less heeded in the future than in the past in matters pertaining to the theological faculties, there is reason to hope that a sense of the great religious and social distress of the time shall bring the teachers of theology into a closer contact with the life of the church than they have had in the past.

It is a significant fact that, according to the new German constitution, which places all religious denominations upon the same footing, members of what were once known as "the sects" are not less eligible to appointment as professors of theology than members of what were "state churches." All alike are now at liberty to qualify for such a career by passing the usual state and faculty examinations.

On the whole it seems that in its purely scientific character German theology can hardly escape a relative decline. But it may well be that this loss will be more than counterbalanced by a gain in religious vitality and depth. Then, when the present storm and stress are somewhat abated, perhaps a new generation of theologians will even surpass the older ones in scientific accomplishments and yet keep the rich practical sense now developing.

The question of the reform of theological study is not new in Germany, but it has become acute since the war. Many students returning after the long interruption of their studies caused by their military service desired and received very considerable alleviation of the conditions usually imposed upon those presenting themselves for the state examinations. This condition, of course, will soon have passed away. The demand for reform is rooted in more permanent conditions, and it comes from the students as well as from the professors. One serious problem arises from the fact that a rapidly increasing number of students come to the university from the Realschule instead of the humanistic gymnasium, in other words, without knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, and even with but little knowledge of Latin. This means that the student must acquire an adequate knowledge of Greek and Hebrew while he is pursuing his theological studies—a most unsatisfactory arrangement. Another difficulty arises from the fact that, while the student is still allowed to take the examinations for entrance into the ranks of active clergymen after only three years of study, the field of theological study, especially in the Bible and church history, has expanded so that it is almost hopeless to cover it adequately in three years. On this account various proposals for new regulations have been made. Some of these emanate from a representative council of the students themselves, others from the professors. A large number of students have given formal expression to the desire to make examination in Hebrew optional with the candidate. This is seconded by some professors, among them so distinguished a man as Harnack. But the desire to reduce the number and range of the unconditional requirements affects, in a way, other subjects besides Hebrew. The desire is widely expressed that, even in those subjects which cannot in any event be wholly eliminated for any candidate, the candidate may have a pretty wide range of options as to the portions of the field upon which he shall be examined. As to the question of the status of the Hebrew, an

overwhelming majority of professors insist upon retaining it as an obligatory subject. On the other point there is a disposition to make some concessions. It is widely recognized that modern conditions demand a considerable extension of a theologue's range of study, especially in the field of the social sciences. Hence the tendency toward a reduction of the scope of the obligatory subjects.

Of course there are many suggestions looking toward a modification of the method of instruction. Admirable as the lecture system is for certain purposes, it is generally admitted that it ought to be more generally supplemented by "repetitions" (that is, reviews and recitations upon the matter of the lectures, usually conducted by an assistant, and outside the lecture hour). And then there is a growing impatience on the part of the professors with that abuse of "academic freedom" which permits a student to absent himself *ad libitum* from lectures and yet obtain the customary testimony that he has heard the course. Finally, there is an almost universal feeling that the department of practical theology must be pretty thoroughly reconstructed in order to adapt it to modern conditions. (Among the discussions of these problems Feine's pamphlet, Zur Reform des Studiums der Theologie, will be found specially valuable.)

JOHN R. VAN PELT.

ADOLF HARNACK

ON April 1, 1921, a new Prussian law became operative which for the first time in that country extended to university professors the principle of an age limit to the tenure of office. By it at a single stroke many eminent men were removed from the active ranks. Among the theologians thus affected far the most distinguished is Adolf Harnack. He retires, it should be observed, not only from his professorship but also from his post as Director of the National Library at Berlin. At the time of his retirement he had almost rounded out his seventieth year. His birthday (May 7) was celebrated with much grateful enthusiasm by a multitude of his pupils, past and present, together with many other friends. Besides the varied festivities of the occasion, which included official greetings from several bodies, mention should be made of the two collective volumes of studies prepared in honor of the master, the one by various specialists in the field of church history, the other by a number of his former pupils.

Harnack is unquestionably the most famous and influential teacher and writer in the field of church history since Baur. Indeed, no other theological teacher in any department in the last generation has won as large a hearing as Harnack. In his own field Wellhausen, no doubt, enjoyed an equally high reputation, but he had no such numbers of hearers or readers as Harnack.

For the occasion of his seventieth birthday the Christliche Welt prepared a special "Harnack number," and some of his former pupils wrote concerning the master and his work. Under the caption "Leipzig 1877-78" Bornemann writes in part as follows: "It seemed to us as if a new world

were rising to our view. We had had excellent teachers elsewhere, and now also we were auditors of eminent professors and renowned scholars. Here, however, we felt the breath of genius. Harnack united in a unique manner the qualifications required in a scholar with the gifts of a teacher by the grace of God: a fine sense for observing and tracing out facts and relations, unwearied diligence in collecting materials, a power of arranging and grouping the materials and then giving them shape, a comprehensive memory, critical acumen, clearness and sobriety of judgment, also a wonderful gift of intuition and combination, and with all this an astonishing ease, transparency, and warmth of exposition, and often enough an unexpected good luck in finding and discovering things." After showing how wonderful was the interest that Harnack aroused even then by his new method in the treatment of the history of dogma and the creeds, Bornemann proceeds thus: "To-day and for some decades past the name of Harnack stands for a theological and ecclesiastical program of universal significance. . . . We were permitted to be witnesses of his beginnings; in his first lecture on the history of dogma he had only sixteen hearers. But even at that time we spontaneously honored him as our guide and master and believed in his star and were sure he was destined to accomplish the very greatest things. In the work he was then doing there lay, in a germinal state, all the essential elements of the work that he has accomplished in the course of his life."

The other articles in the "Harnack number" are all interesting and illuminating. That by Erich Foerster is entitled "Marburg 1887," that by Rade "Berlin 1892," while Baumgarten gives an account of Harnack's notable work in connection with the Evangelical Social Congress, and Jülicher gives an admirable notice of Harnack's latest book, Marcion. Besides, there is reproduced Harnack's own first contribution to the Christliche Welt—a periodical which, the editor declares, without Harnack would not have been; it is a very brief article entitled: "Lesefrüchte aus Augustin." Rade's article deals with the painful controversy over the Apostles' Creed. Outwardly, at least, the party of the ecclesiastical conservatives was victorious. "For the only success," writes Rade, "which *we* had, was that we maintained our existence in the church. So Harnack remained that which with Bismarck's help he had become, professor of theology in Berlin. But those who had the controlling influence in the church succeeded in excluding him from every activity involving the practical direction of church affairs, and so it came that talents which he would gladly have placed at the service of the church in preference to everything else had to be utilized for the benefit of the Prussian library system and of scientific research in fields outside religion and theology. . . . There lies more of the tragic in these experiences than can be told in this brief reminiscence."

In spite, however, of some bitter experiences, Harnack has had a brilliantly successful career. He inspired and trained an astonishing number of pupils for independent research. Many of his grateful pupils have followed other paths than his in theology, but they all unite in acknowledging him as their supreme master and guide in historical

research. His literary production has been almost incredibly great. Besides a multitude of essays, addresses, and book reviews, he wrote a large number of monographs and special studies, such as those on Augustine, Monasticism, St. Luke, and Marcion. But there are four works that stand out as peculiarly significant: the History of Dogma, the History of Early Christian Literature, the Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, and the Essence of Christianity ("What is Christianity?"). Each of the first three was epoch-making in its field; the fourth was a supreme popular triumph.

Harnack is no mere historian; he is also a significant theologian. Still, it cannot be denied that Harnack the theologian enjoys far less credit than Harnack the historian. Among the disciples of Ritschl he is easily the most versatile, brilliant, and productive, but doubtless such men as Herrmann and Haering surpass him in originality and depth of theological thinking.

Harnack retires while yet in excellent vigor of body and mind, and his friends and admirers hope for yet many a good thing from his pen.

JOHN R. VAN PELT.

BOOK NOTICES

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John. By R. H. CHARLES, D.Litt., D.D. 2 vols. Pp. cxci + 373; 497. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $9.

THE Book of Revelation cannot be read understandingly without a commentary; and there have been written more commentaries on Revelation than on any other book of the Bible. But commentaries abreast with the best scholarship of our time are rare; and yet none other are safe for guidance in view of the outlook on history which its interpretation involves.

Dr. R. H. Charles, Archdeacon of Westminster and Fellow of the British Academy, has written the commentary which it is safe to predict will be for at least a generation the standard work to English readers.

THE GREEK TEXT.—One of the most notable features of the new commentary is the thorough work done in textual criticism. It requires a good deal of experience in this kind of work to appreciate the immensity of labor it implies; and the popular reviewer is apt to pass it with silence. But the best scholarship of our day is not content until it has exhausted every available means to get back as nearly as possible to the very wording of the original autograph which has in many cases become obliterated through centuries long transcription of the manuscripts. This task in the case of Revelation led to the examination of 7 Uncial and 223 Cursive Greek manuscripts; 5 Latin versions; 3 Syriac versions; 2 Armenian versions; 2 Egyptian versions, the Bohairic and the Sahidic; and an Ethiopic version. These had all to be compared word by word, even to the spelling of a word; the differences accounted for and their

value estimated, with that fine sense of discrimination which recognizes that a later manuscript may sometimes represent a better and more original reading than an earlier manuscript.

Dr. Charles is thoroughly familiar with textual criticism, having spent many years in the collation of manuscripts and the formation of texts in several languages, but because he felt that his eyes were unequal to this fresh strain, he called to his aid the help of other scholars, chief among them the Rev. F. S. Marsh, Dean of Selwyn College, Cambridge. The result of these labors is a new Greek text of Revelation, with a most generous *Apparatus Criticus*, containing the various readings, and a new translation of the text, occupying about one fourth of the space.

One is tempted here to give detailed illustrations of the results achieved; but one or two must suffice. The most frequent changes of the text are omissions. There is a tendency observable with scribes to add to the original text explanatory glosses or longer interpolations. Such are, for instance, 9. 19, "and in their tails; for their tails are like unto serpents, having heads," out of harmony with the context, which tells that the destructive powers of the horses lie in the fire, smoke, and brimstone which issue from their mouths, and not in their tails; the gloss is due to 9. 10; or 20. 14, "this is the second death, the lake of fire," evidently added here as a marginal gloss, drawn from 22. 8f., where the clause is full of meaning; but it is wholly out of place here with regard to death and Hades; other omissions are: 22. 11; 22. 18b, 19. Among gains to the text may be pointed out 18. 22, where the verse now reads:

> "And the voice of the harpers and singers
> Shall be heard no more in thee;
> And the voice of the flute players and trumpeters
> Shall be heard no more in thee."

A similar instance is 21. 22, which now reads:

> "And I saw no temple therein:
> For the Lord God Almighty is the temple thereof,
> And the Lamb is the ark of the covenant thereof."

The result as a whole is not startling; but it represents the best endeavor with the means available. Of course, many of the changes in the text are based upon conjecture. When the text is evidently at fault and neither the manuscripts in Greek nor the versions throw any light on the difficulty, the only alternative the text critic has is to leave the text as it stands unintelligible or make a good guess of what it probably was. Many conjectures commend themselves as reasonable, but the evidence for them is subjective rather than objective.

THE LANGUAGE.—Closely akin to the textual studies and as thorough and of even greater value is Dr. Charles's contribution to the proper estimate of the language of Revelation. Here again he is in accord with the highest ideals of modern scholarship which has learned through the Greek papyri that New Testament Greek has a legitimate character of its own and that each New Testament writer has a distinctive style. But wherein he has gone beyond his predecessors is his claim that the writer

of the Apocalypse thought in Hebrew while he wrote in Greek, and that in order to discover its meaning and render it correctly in English the Greek text needs at times to be translated into Hebrew. In defense of his position Dr. Charles states that his studies, which have extended from the time of Homer down to the Middle Ages, have led him to the conclusion that the linguistic character of the Apocalypse is absolutely unique. The result of this research is made accessible in the commentary in A Short Grammar of the Apocalypse.

I give of many instances only one or two. It is a common Hebrew custom, after using a participle or infinitive, to change the construction and use a finite verb. This is not good Greek; but the writer of the Apocalypse often makes use of this Hebraistic construction. Dr. Charles claims that the translators of the Apocalypse, failing to recognize his Hebrew idiom, mistranslate him. For instance, 1. 17, 18, the Revised Version reads:

"Fear not. I am the first and the last, and the Living one; and I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of death and of Hades."

Charles translates:

"Fear not; I am the first and the last:
And he that liveth, and was dead:

And, behold, I am alive for evermore;
And have the keys of death and of Hades."

Charles's translation is far superior in bringing out both the Hebrew idiom and the Hebrew rhythm. Another instance is 12. 17, where the Revised Version reads:

"And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels *going forth* to war with the dragon."

Charles renders:

"And war burst forth in heaven:
Michael and his angels had to war with the dragon."

Here again, Charles renders the Hebrew idiom of the emphatic infinitive "to war" more correctly and brings out its force.

THE AUTHORSHIP.—The authorship of the Johannine writings is one of the most contested of New Testament problems. Dr. Charles has contributed much to its solution. He has made it clear that the authorship of the Apocalypse is not anonymous, but that it was written by a John. He has also made it clear that the Gospel and the Epistles of John are from the hands of a different John than that of the Apocalypse. There is mention of three Johns in connection with the authorship: John, the apostle; John, the elder; and John, the prophet or seer. Dr. Charles gives convincing evidence that the tradition that John the apostle died as martyr before A. D. is historical; and consequently he could not be the author of either writings, for they belong to the last decade of the first Christian century. He claims further that the linguistic evidence points

to John the elder as the author of the Gospel and the three Epistles; John the prophet or seer, then, is the author of the Apocalypse.

This John, who appears to look upon the apostles retrospectively and from without (21. 14), and distinctly claims to be a prophet (22. 9), according to Dr. Charles was a Palestinian Jew, more particularly a Galilean, for Galilee was the home of seers and apocalyptists. He migrated to Asia Minor when probably advanced in years. He learned his Greek probably late in life, for he never got over thinking in Hebrew while he wrote in Greek; and this accounts for the fact that his Greek is unlike any Greek that was ever penned by mortal man. He was a great spiritual genius, a man of profound insight and the widest sympathies; and his work exhibits a structural unity with a steady development of thought.

Dr. Charles has a very poor opinion of the editor who put the Apocalypse into form. He claims that John died when he had completed 1 to 20. 8 of his work, and that the materials for its completion, which were for the most part ready in a series of independent documents, were put together by a faithful but unintelligent disciple in the order which he thought right. This disciple was a better Greek scholar than his master, for he frequently corrects his master's mistakes. But he fails to comprehend his master's sweep of thought, and by means of interpolations and dislocations comes nearly wrecking the grand outlines of the work.

With fine insight, Dr. Charles regards in 14. 3f., "*even* they that had been purchased out of the earth. These are they that were not defiled with women; for they are virgins," as one of the interpolations of the editor. For, Charles argues, the author who compares the covenant between Christ and the Church to a marriage, 19. 9, and calls the Church the Bride, 21. 2, 9; 22. 17, could not possibly have regarded marriage as a pollution, excluding Peter or any other married apostle or any woman whatever from the company that follows the Lamb on Mount Zion. The interpolation throws an interesting light on the character of the editor, who appears to have been a narrow ascetic who introduced into Christianity ideas that had their origin in pagan faiths of unquestionable impurity; for it is chastity, and not celibacy, that is a Christian virtue.

It seems that the editor, according to Charles, did his worst in 20. 4 to chapter 22, where the original author sees in a vision the coming evangelization of the world by Christ and the glorified martyrs. But through the editor's rearrangement of the text the millennial reign is emptied of all significance. The glorified martyrs return to earth with Christ and enjoy a dramatic but rather secular victory, sitting on thrones in splendid idleness for full one thousand years (20. 4-6).

The removal of the interpolations and the rearrangement of the dislocations constitute one of the finest pieces of Dr. Charles's constructive work. The plan of the book of Revelation becomes clearer and logical and will add immensely to the understanding of what is generally considered a sealed message.

THE EXPOSITION.—Here Dr. Charles is at his very best. There is no scholar who is more at home with apocalypses than he. He has spent

years in editing and explaining them and the Oxford edition of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is his splendid work. This thorough acquaintance with the material aids Dr. Charles in recognizing the author's use of earlier sources. It is no small gain to find here competent recognition of what the present writer has taught in the class room for a long time, that the general eschatological scheme underlying the Apocalypse is the same as that in the apocalypse of Jesus recorded in the Gospels; and that the Apocalypse is really only a fully elaborated form of it. It is highly probable that both of them go back to a document behind the Gospels, the so-called Little Jewish-Christian Apocalypse. The bearing of this upon the question as to what Jesus really taught on how his kingdom is to come, in spiritual or apocalyptic fashion, is far-reaching and promising.

The psychology of religious phenomena is making itself felt in the interpretation of the Bible. It is a forward step and in the right direction when Dr. Charles devotes an introductory chapter to the discussion of the Object of the Seer and His Method—Vision and Reflection. Of the two possible views, whether visions are caused by divine action or are the result of reflection, Dr. Charles holds the first in a modified and restricted form. He believes that behind these visions there is an actual substratum of reality belonging to the higher spiritual world and that the heavenly vision is vouchsafed. But he places the value of such psychical experiences not so much on their being actual experiences, as on the source from which they sprang, the environment in which they were produced, and the influence they exercised on the will and character. The main question with him is the character of the religious faith they express and the moral and religious duties they enforce. Whether they are literal descriptions of actual experiences is a wholly secondary question. Dr. Charles recognizes a higher form of religious knowledge than seeing of visions. It is "the divine insight won in a state of intense spiritual exaltation, in which the self loses immediate self-consciousness without becoming unconscious, and the best faculties of the mind are quickened to their highest power. Therein the soul comes into direct touch with truth or God himself." Such experiences can be expressed only in symbols and find their analogies in those of the musician, poet, painter, and scholar. The normal use of the reason, embracing the powers of insight, imagination, and judgment, is recognized in the seer's (a) arrangement of the materials; (b) in his creation of allegories; (c) in the adaptation of traditional materials to his own purpose and their reinterpretation; (d) in the conventional use of the phrase "I saw."

No book of the Bible has called forth such a variety of methods of interpretation as the Book of Revelation. Dr. Charles enumerates nine types. He uses all of them according as they are needed, but he lays special stress upon the philological method, the great value of which he has come to see through his special studies in the language of the Apocalypse. He understands well the mission of the commentator, which is not to make his author say what the commentator thinks he ought to say, but make clear what his author thinks whether he agrees with him

or not. Dr. Charles keeps himself well in the background in dealing with the eschatological teachings of the Apocalypse. He is more concerned to let his readers know what John's views are than state his own. Nowhere in the commentary does he discuss the pros and cons of millennialism; and one might be misled into thinking him to be a pre-millennialist, until he reads what Dr. Charles has to say on the object of the author of the Apocalypse and its permanent or present-day value. "The object of the seer," Dr. Charles says, "is to proclaim the coming of God's kingdom on earth, and to assure the Christian Church of the final triumph of goodness, not only in the individual or within its own borders, not only throughout the kingdoms of the world and in their relations one to another, but also throughout the whole universe. Thus its gospel was from the beginning at once individualistic and corporate, national and international and cosmic. While the seven churches represent entire Christendom, Rome represents the power of this world. With its claim to absolute obedience, Rome stands in complete antagonism to Christ. Between these two powers there can be no truce or compromise. The strife between them must go on inexorably without let or hindrance, till the kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of the Lord and of his Christ. This triumph is to be realized on earth. There is to be no legislation, no government, no statecraft which is not finally to be brought into subjection to the will of Christ. John's Apocalypse is thus the divine statute book of international law, as well as the manual for the guidance of the individual Christian. In this spirit of splendid optimism the seer confronts the world-wide power of Rome with its blasphemous claims to supremacy over the spirit of man. He is as ready as the most thoroughgoing pessimist to recognize the apparently overwhelming might of the enemy, but he does not, like the pessimist, fold his hands in helpless apathy, or weaken the courage of his brethren by idle jeremiads and tears. Gifted with an insight which the pessimist wholly lacks, he can recognize the full horror of the evils that are threatening to engulf the world, and yet he never yields to one despairing thought of the ultimate victory of God's cause on earth."

With an inspiring message like this, based upon a sane and scholarly interpretation of a mystifying symbolism, Charles's Revelation is destined to be of incalculable value and service. It should be in the hands of every minister of the gospel and every intelligent layman who wishes the latest and best information on a subject that is at present badly misused.

Syracuse University. J. PERITZ.

The Proposal of Jesus. By JOHN A. HUTTON. 12mo, pp. viii + 249. New York: Hodder and Stoughton. Price, $2 net.

Discerning the Times. By JOHN A. HUTTON. 12mo, pp. 280. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. Price, $3.

THE pagan conception of religion regards it as an interest apart from the ordinary circumstances of life. It is not supposed to have any concern in political and social problems. The influence of this one-sided idea is

seen in the interpretation of the ministry of Jesus as though it were almost solely to the individual. A re-reading of the Gospels without any inherited bias has produced a different impression, that the supreme concern of Jesus was to save this present world. "He came to inaugurate a world state-of-matters, having as its ultimate motive and principle God, and the very God who had worked his way into the conscience of the Hebrew people in the long agony and illumination of their history."

Dr. Hutton develops this thesis with unusual insight in The Proposal of Jesus. "Christianity is much more than a system really of psychology, which deals with delicate and subtle things of the soul." Its program is one of world redemption, touching individual, social, political, national, and international life. The universal outlook of Jesus cut at the roots of nationalistic ambitions and the storm which ensued was inevitable. Those who opposed him could not see beyond their party interests. Their parochial minds were absorbed in petty sectarian quarrels and they were pathetically incapable of understanding the larger issues and the weightier requirements of justice, mercy, and faith. The proposal of Jesus to his nation, in the light of their political situation, was a solution which offered the only way of escape from the conflict between their nationalism and the internationalism of imperial Rome. They refused to accept it and persisted in their own ways which ended in the tragedy of 70 A. D.—the fall of Jerusalem and the dissolution of the nation. We are hearing a great deal about the leadership of Jesus, but this volume is one of the first attempts to present the alternatives as they are set forth in the Gospels.

What then is the task of the Church? This is specifically answered in the other volume, with the significant title, Discerning the Times. These sermon-essays have the note of urgency and of illuminating persuasiveness that marks all truly great preaching. Unfamiliar texts frequently meet us in these pages and they are placed in their logical context, so that we wonder why the truth they enshrine had not before been seen by us. Here is a preacher who searches the Scriptures, as an efficient steward of the manifold grace of God, who also understands the drift of things and how the course should be steered by individuals and nations, to the end that we realize the divine purpose of world redemption. The thought of responsibility is strikingly enforced in the essay on "For the Ten's Sake," suggested by the destruction of Sodom. "According to the Bible, a situation is desperate, not when things are hopelessly bad, but when there is not a saving minority." The conclusion is that "things are not yet beyond recall so long as there is a faithful minority, who will appeal by their own goodness to those who are round about them, and who will appeal by their own steadfast intercession to the slumbering resources of God."

These two books deserve careful study. They open up lines of thought which can be followed with great advantage, and they stress the kind of message which the pulpit is called upon to deliver in these days of uncertainty and distraction.

The Shorter Bible: The Old Testament. Translated and arranged by CHARLES FOSTER KENT, with the collaboration of CHARLES CUTLER TORREY, HENRY A. SHERMAN, FREDERICK HARRIS, and ETHEL CUTLER. 6mo, pp. xxxi + 622. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $2.

ANY attempt to encourage the reading of the Bible should be welcomed. It is acknowledged to be the manual of life, but large portions of it are practically unknown because the average Christian does not take the pains to discover its valued treasures. If the present library of sixty-six books was brought together by a company of men in accord with tradition, who, however, used their own discretion in the matter of selection, why may not the same liberty be used by others, whose purpose is to make clear and direct the divine message to the human soul? This privilege of Protestantism has been wisely exercised by the translators of The Shorter Bible. The New Testament was published three years ago and was received with appreciation. The Old Testament, now before us, will meet with a similar cordial reception.

The material is arranged according to the nature of the contents, with due regard to the probable date of the several writings. The outstanding divisions are: Stories and histories, Laws, the Prophets, the Lyrics, the Teachings of the Wise. The subdivisions take note of the character of the writings. For instance, the Psalms are arranged as Psalms of praise and thanksgiving, Hymns of trust and adoration, Prayers, Psalms of meditation. The intrinsic worth of Proverbs is well brought out by the arrangement according to topics, such as the practical value of the teachings of the Wise, God and man, man's education, man in his family and personal relations, man in his economic relations, man in his legal and political relations, the essential characteristics of a good citizen. The argument of the drama of Job is most impressively brought out in this manner. The sections further indicate the subject matter of each of the passages and the titles make excellent topics for expository sermons.

The translation avoids the archaic and the colloquial and in choice English it vividly brings out the meaning of the original, retaining the style of poetry or prose and distinguishing narrative from dialogue passages. In many parts it is far superior to the American Revision. "It is fitting to praise Thee, O God," is better than, "Praise waiteth for Thee, O God." "O Lord, condescend to hear me," than "Bow down thine ear, O Jehovah, and answer me" (pp. 482, 501). "The inclination to sin will overcome you, but you should master it" is far more expressive (Gen. 4. 7). "How awe-inspiring is this place" means more than "How dreadful is this place" (p. 33). "You shall not use the name of Jehovah your God profanely" is more to the point. "Away, you visionary! Off with you to the land of Judah," makes clearer the forcible dismissal of Amos (p. 344). "Keep calm; have no fear; do not lose courage," is far more direct than "Take heed and be quiet; fear not; neither let thine heart be faint" (p. 364). "Every people, nation, and race" is less confusing than "Every people, nation, and language" (p. 291). "Your words be mere blustering wind" is more vivid than "the words of thy

mouth be like a mighty wind." "Full of intemperate speech" than "fill himself with the east wind" (pp. 575, 584). Daniel's hymn of praise is rendered with a sense of its rhythmic beauty, which is translated as prose by the American Revision (p. 286). A reminiscence of Longfellow's Hiawatha is seen in Job's lines:

> "There the wicked cease from troubling,
> There the weary art at rest;
> Captives too at ease together,
> Hearing not the voice of masters.
> There the small and great are gathered,
> There the slave is free at last" (p. 570).

An occasional rendering is not an improvement of the Revision. We prefer "In all thy ways acknowledge him" to "In all you do know him intimately" (p. 535); "Keep thy heart with all diligence," to "guard your heart above all things" (p. 554); "Joy cometh in the morning" to "But the morning brings shouts of joy" (p. 507); "As the man is, so is his strength" to "A man has a man's strength" (p. 130). It would have been an advantage if the textual references were inserted in the margin in addition to the Index. The passages omitted are repetitions or duplicates or parts that seldom appeal to the average Bible reader, whose needs are chiefly considered in this translation. Leviticus has only a page and a half, and the other codes of ceremonial, ritual, and social legislation of interest to an antiquated civilization are almost all omitted, as also Chronicles, Obadiah, and Haggai. But the cream of the Old Testament is preserved. Whoever reads this volume will turn to it again and again, convinced that the Old Testament still has a pertinent message we can ill afford to neglect.

The Political Aspects of St. Augustine's "City of God." By JOHN NEVILLE FIGGIS, Litt.D. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, $2.50.

WHEN one civilization has fallen and another is in its birth throes, people are apt to be seduced by the rushlights of a false leadership. The mind and mood of such a time of transition are intensely puzzling and those who would meet its needs must have insight and vision. The Epistle to the Hebrews was written after the fall of Jerusalem in the interest of a larger faith and in defense of the substantial authority of Christianity. When Rome was sacked by Alaric in 410 A. D., the shock of the catastrophe reacted against Christianity. Augustine wrote the *De Civitate Dei* to prove that the disaster was the inevitable Nemesis of the luxuries and corruptions of the citizenship and had little to do with Christianity, which had only a slight hold on public life. He also pointed out the contrast between the actual city to which the Romans were fanatically devoted, and the ideal city of his prophetic vision, contending that this ideal is eternal and unrealized but in process of realization. He was further convinced that Christianity was not merely a superior gnosis but a scheme of redemption, justified by its higher ethical standards and by the better conduct of its adherents. This apology has all the limitations of the time

and the writer, but Augustine was a mystic and a statesman, and the importance of this writing is in the fact that "in it for the first time an ideal consideration, a comprehensive survey of human history found its expression."

This exposition by Dr. Figgis discusses some of the problems faced by Augustine in their application to our own conditions. The chapter on "The Philosophy of History" emphasizes Augustine's "strong sense of providential government of the world" and his idea of history as "the whole course of social happenings in time, in relation to a timeless Deity." His catholicity of outlook was expressed in his conception of the *Civitas Dei*, which must not be confused with the visible Church. "It is the *communio sanctorum*, the body of the elect, many of whom are to be found in pre-Christian times or in heathen peoples—while from this body many of the baptized will be excluded. This *communio sanctorum* is the true recipient of the promises to David and of the gifts of eternal peace and beatitude, those promises which Augustine sets forth with moving eloquence in Book XX. The visible militant church is never more than a part of either—nor does it ever attain. Its peace and beatitude are in hope. It is always *in via*. It is but the symbolic and inadequate representative of the *Civitas Dei*, but it uses the peace provided by the earthly state" (p. 68).

His mysticism is seen in his idea of the two cities, which were not rival organisms but two tendencies embodied in the two rival societies. One is the *civitas terrena*, "a union largely unconscious and no less invisible than the invisible body of the elect"; it is not to be identified with the State except so far as the State represents the element of evil that does not reckon with God. The *Civitas Dei* should not be identified with the Church except to the extent that it represents the element of good. Dr. Figgis enlarges on this distinction in the chapter on "The State" and points out that Augustine's view of the state was practically that of the apostle Paul, the Roman citizen. In a deep sense the ideal state and the ideal church are complementary and not contradictory, but where are they to be found? When Augustine justified the use of force by the church in its conflict with such disruptive movements as Donatism, he showed a lamentable weakness. His countenancing of persecution, which is a form of religious tyranny, led ultimately to the domination of the state by the church, with all the attendant evils of ecclesiastical statecraft and diplomacy. The church thus gained the world, but lost its soul.

The last two chapters trace the influence of Augustine's teaching in mediaeval and modern times. They follow the course of controversy between church and state, and show how the spirit and practice of Erastianism have disastrously prevailed to the undermining of the church's primary mission. Puritanism failed in its program because it was tainted by asceticism and lacked a comprehensive view of life, just as Catholicism failed on account of its conspiracies of worldly compromise. There is in all this a lesson for us. The final problem of Augustine was to give God a central place in society. Decadence overcame Greece, Rome and the Renaissance because their ideals of beauty were not rooted in the hope of

eternal life. A mere humanistic culture is bankrupt at the last. No power can prevent disaster unless we accept the truth expressed in Augustine's memorable words: "Thou hast made us for thyself, and our heart is restless until it find thee." OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

SEVEN VOLUMES OF SERMONS

The Paradox of the World. Sermons by JOHN OMAN, D.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $3.50.

The Shepherd of the Sea and Other Sermons. By W. L. WATKINSON, D.D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, $1.75.

The Intention of His Soul. Essays for the Untheologically Minded. By HUBERT L. SIMPSON, M.A. New York: Hodder & Stoughton. Price, $2.

Bible Types of Modern Men. Second Series. By W. MACKINTOSH MACKAY, B.D. New York: George H. Doran Company. Price, $1.75.

Dust and Destiny. Fifteen Sermons. By M. S. RICE. New York: The Methodist Book Concern. Price, $1.50.

The Contemporary Christ. By JOSEPH M. M. GRAY. New York: The Methodist Book Concern. Price, $2.

The Economic Eden and Other Sermons. By FREDERICK F. SHANNON. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, $1.25.

UNWORTHY comparisons have often been made between British and American preachers to the disparagement of the latter. These criticisms do not reckon with the background and temperament of the pulpit and pew in both lands, and they have failed to realize that the aim of preaching is not only to instruct, but to inspire. Where this is done to the greatest advantage, the preacher will of necessity reflect the peculiar genius of his times and surroundings and interpret the needs of his age *sub specie æternitatis.* Professor Hoyt's recent volume on The Pulpit and American Life is a discerning estimate of our strength and weakness with a hopeful outlook for the future of American preaching. Dr. Joseph Fort Newton, in an article in The Atlantic Monthly for August, wrote: "In intellectual average and moral passion there is little difference between English and American preaching, but the emphasis is different. The English preacher seeks to educate and edify his people in the fundamentals of their faith; the American preacher is more intent upon the application of religion to the affairs of the moment. . . . It has been said that the distinctive note of the American pulpit is vitality; of the English pulpit serenity. Perhaps each has much to learn from the other." The characteristic features of each are illustrated in the volumes here noticed.

Professor Oman has all the excellent qualities of English preaching at its best. These sermons do not represent the weekly output of a preacher, but are special deliverances. Freshness and originality are combined with clarity of thought and boldness of utterance. The close-knit arguments search the mind and quicken the spirit and lead to convincing

conclusions as to the true inwardness of Christianity. He sinks the shaft deep and speaks from a full understanding of all the issues. The sermon titles are distinctive: "God's Ideal and Man's Reality"; "A Distressed Mind and Untroubled Heart"; "The Peacemakers and the Peaceable"; "Wrong Waiting for God." The sermon which gives the title to the volume is from Rom. 8. 28. The divisions are (1) it is the most unlikely affirmation; (2) about the most unlikely persons; (3) for the most unlikely reason. The sermon on "God's Failures" is from Luke 17. 17f, and its divisions are (1) God fails with signal mercies chiefly because he fails with the common experiences; (2) God fails with life because he fails with the common religion; (3) God fails with religion because he fails with the common intercourse. This is a volume for the thinker, to be read and re-read many times with increasing benefit.

Few preachers have made such fine use of the literature of science as Dr. Watkinson. The luminous illustrations and apt quotations from scientific writings have enriched his expositions and given irresistible force to his applications of the Christian Gospel. He does not hesitate to take issue with scientist or philosopher, but he makes good his claim by bringing out the fuller truth which both had overlooked. There is a wealth of thought and suggestion in these sermons which enunciate the rationale of the spiritual life. He is above all a Biblical preacher who expounds the texts with surpassing insight and originality. No one would know that this preacher is over eighty years old. Like Viscount Bryce, he bears rich fruit in old age, as good or even better than what he produced in the prime of his life.

The common practice is to give out the text before the sermon. Mr. Simpson introduces the text in the course of the sermon. Many of the texts are unfamiliar, but he shows remarkable felicity in their applications. These sermonic essays appeal to thoughtful folk who are dissatisfied with commonplace Christianity, but who are not aware that the Christianity of Christ, liberally interpreted, is the final answer to all difficulties. No justice can be done to this unusual volume by merely mentioning the titles of the chapters. Some of them are: "The Lure of the Wilderness," "Void or Voice?" "Memory and Morning," "The Acid Test." The book is a successful attempt at spiritual beach-combing to recover much valuable treasure. No one can read it without receiving enthusiasm.

The author of The Disease and Remedy of Sin is a master in the diagnosis of the adventures and misadventures of the human soul. As an interpreter of types of character Mr. Mackay has few equals. This third volume of character studies introduces us to a group of men modern to the finger tips. He holds up the mirror to contemporary life in the sympathetic spirit of one who knows our peculiar temptations and trials and how they might be met and overcome. "The Man Who Never Had a Chance," "The Man Who Breaks His Birth's Invidious Bar," "The Cynic," "The Man Who Can Fill a Gap," "The Non-Church Goer," "The Man of Prayer," and many others are honestly dealt with. He makes a skillful use of the best literature to illustrate his points and to drive home the truth.

The sermons by Dr. Rice of Detroit retain all the flavor and freshness

of the spoken style. They reveal a preacher with a deep passionate sympathy with humankind. Those who have heard him need not be told that he is a buoyant soul, with stalwart convictions of faith, hope, duty, responsibility, based on supreme loyalty to Jesus Christ. The personal pronoun is freely used, and why not? For these are pertinent messages, hot from the heart of one who would produce dynamic results in the lives of his hearers. The colloquial style gives added directness to these hearty and heartening appeals. This is a fine type of evangelistic preaching.

There are a healthy enthusiasm and an exhilaration of spirit in the sermons by Dr. Gray. They edify the mind and refresh the spirit by many a telling illustration and convincing argument that in evangelical Christianity there is to be found the truest remedy for the poignant anguish of the age. They, moreover, set forth the spiritual opulence of Christ, who answers the probing questions of duty and destiny, and who sustains the soul in the severest experiences of life. "The Clue to Experience," "The Incalculable Element in Christianity," "The Impregnable Tradition," and the one which gives the title to the volume suggest sermons far above the average as to length and quality, and fully merit publication.

Dr. Shannon does not hesitate to quote from the best books and to comment on them in the course of his sermons, which, however, are anything but bookish. They are redolent of the perfume of the Gospel, and it must have been quite an inspiration to listen to them. "The Mightiest of the Mighty," on John 11. 21-23, is on the preventive and curative Christ. "The Two Abrahams" is on Abraham the ancient and our martyred President. "Christ's man is a playground of authentic spiritual power," is a curious putting of the truth; but no doubt each preacher has his own expressions which reveal the independence and insight of his own personality. The volume is fully worth reading. OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

The Life of Charles Silvester Horne, M.A., M.P. Edited by W. B. SELBIE, M.A., D.D. 8vo, pp. viii + 311. New York: Hodder and Stoughton. Price, $3 net.

"HE did not know how to husband the tapes." These words were written of Horne when he passed away at the age of forty-nine years. He matured early. Over a year before graduating from Mansfield College, he was invited to the pastorate of Allen Street Church, Kensington. He was under twenty-five when he undertook this work and after fourteen years of a successful ministry he took charge of the forward movement at Whitfield's Church, situated in one of the most strategic centers of London. He realized the need for a Christian testimony in politics and so he allowed himself to be elected to represent the constituency of Ipswich in Parliament. He warmed both hands before the fire of life and spent himself without stint. It was inevitable that the strain would tell. After delivering the Yale lectures, he crossed over to Canada to address a Brotherhood meeting in Toronto. But sudden death, on the

deck of the ship, seized him and he passed away before aid could reach him.

Horne probably would not have accomplished the vast amount of work, in much of which he was a pioneer and reformer, had it not been for the holy zeal which consumed him. The secret of his passion is seen in his Yale lectures on "The Romance of Preaching," which is one of the best in this excellent series. He also surpassed as a platform speaker and his experiences in this phase of his ministry were recorded in his volume, Pulpit, Platform and Parliament, which is a clarion call in the name of social Christianity.

Principal Selbie has written a very readable account of a buoyant and radiant man. The numerous letters written by Horne and copious extracts from his diary serve the purpose of an autobiography. There was nothing morbid in his reflection, even when he discussed the sharp opposition which he frequently encountered. "As to criticism," he once wrote, "you have to learn sooner or later that if you escape criticism it is only because you are not doing enough to deserve it." We do not wonder that one who had always felt drawn to the common people should have given up a suburban church to lead an aggressive movement, in connection with which he was drawn into social and municipal reform activities which roused the bitter enmity of various vested interests. He was a veritable knight errant of modern Christianity and his work at Whitfield's helped to give a larger conception of the mission of the church. More space should have been given to this part of his career because it was really his most important contribution. Reference must therefore be made to his own volume, Pulpit, Platform and Parliament, which is a most stimulating recital of the successes of militant Christianity.

The Message of Sadhu Sundar Singh. A Study in Mysticism on Practical Religion. By B. H. Streeter, D.D., and A. J. Appasamy, M.A. 12mo, pp. xiii + 209. New York: The MacMillan Company. Price, $1.75.

Sadhu Sundar Singh. Called of God. By Mrs. Arthur Parker. 12mo, pp. xii + 144. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, $1.25.

Christianity is one, but there are many expressions of its versatile life, determined by temperament and tradition. The type of Christianity in India will necessarily reflect the distinctive genius of the Indian mind and spirit. The far-seeing missionaries in India recognize that this land of many nationalities and religions, everywhere feeling the disruptive and disintegrating influence of caste, will eventually be Christianized by native Christians. Their Christianity, moreover, will not be an echo of Western thought and belief but an expression of the ardor and depth of the Indian soul, inspired by Christ, and following methods that appeal to the meditative mood of that land.

This important phase of the subject is ably dealt with in Canon Streeter's volume. It is of interest not only to the missionary but to every preacher who desires to have a complete view of the many-sided appeal of the opulent Gospel of our Christian redemption. Supplementing this

volume is the life of Sundar Singh, by Mrs. Parker of the London Missionary Society. She introduces us to one of those rare souls who, through obedience to the heavenly vision, found peace in Christ, and whose loyalty has been tested in the fierce fires of incredible persecutions. Wearing the saffron robe of the Indian ascetic and renouncing the ties of home and family, this Sikh convert has gone through India, "like a magnet attracting souls" to Christ.

The facile fanaticism of some ardent souls is foreign to his nature. He is both liberal-minded and large-hearted. He represents the spirit of the Indian *bhaktas*, the emotionalists, rather than that of the *rishis*, the intellectualists. His emotional temperament, transformed and suffused by Christ, has thus qualified him to receive visions and revelations, in a state of ecstasy, not different from that of the apostle Paul, who was caught up to the third heaven and "heard sacred secrets which no human lips can repeat" (2 Cor. 12. 2ff.). Dr. Streeter once read to Sundar Singh a passage from a recent volume on immortality, and remarked that it was curious that this writer by the use of rational reflection on philosophical, moral, and critical issues, should reach conclusions closely resembling the Sadhu's visions. To this he replied, "I am not at all surprised. Truth is one; but different men may attain to it by different paths."

Dr. Streeter rightly remarks, "Prayer is a theme on which it is possible to say much that is true, but not much that is new. Indeed, one would instinctively suspect the soundness of views on this subject which seemed too startlingly original." The same principle applies to everything that is profoundly religious. The interpretations of the Christian life by Sundar Singh are marked by "inspired common sense," and illustrated by the characteristically Oriental method of teaching, through the use of stories, parables, and popular maxims. There is a refreshing naïveté in the addresses and sayings quoted by Canon Streeter, who heard him and had several interviews with him during his recent visit to England. This may be judged by one specimen: "On the mountains torrents flow right along, cutting their own courses. But on the plains canals have to be dug out painfully by men so that water might flow. So among those who live on the heights with God, the Holy Spirit makes its way through of its own accord, whereas those who devote little time to prayer and communion with God have to organize painfully."

The life of this man of prayer is a great inspiration. Concerning his practice of intercession he gave a glimpse in one of his addresses: "For eight years I was praying for one person I knew and it seemed to me at times almost useless, but after eight years that man began to think and my prayer was answered." Mrs. Parker relates in her volume that after fourteen years of unswerving loyalty to Christ, Sundar Singh had the joy of seeing his father converted. It was he who financed his son's preaching tour in England. He is only thirty-two years of age and already he has accomplished a remarkable work, which, please God, may be the earnest of yet larger achievements in extending the Kingdom of Christ.

Modern Democracies. By JAMES BRYCE (Viscount Bryce). Two volumes. 8vo, pp. xiv + 508; vi + 676. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $10.50.

DEMOCRACY has been on trial for many centuries. The idea appeared in germ in ancient Greece and it has found expression in various ways in several countries. But it is only since the American republic was founded that the principle of democracy has challenged the serious attention of the nations. Its history furnishes a striking illustration of "the perpetual conflict between the forces of idealism and of selfishness," in which the former have waxed stronger to unite the whole nation "in a disinterested patriotism that values national righteousness as well as national greatness." It has thus happened that the advocates of revolution, most of whom come to the United States from lands where the tyranny of autocracy has prevailed, have been repeatedly defeated. But vigilance, constant and consistent, is the chief safeguard against the insidious encroachments of that hydra-headed enemy called Anarchy.

The time has come for a comprehensive estimate of the results of democracy as a principle of government at work among the nations. One who writes on this subject should be thoroughly informed, both by study and observation, and possessed of an open mind ready to unlearn and to learn, as he passes in review the influences of education, religion, the press, tradition, party spirit and organization, and public opinion. Since democracy is the rule of the whole people expressing their sovereign will through their votes, we should note the atmosphere in which the people live. This takes us into the region of psychology in which politics is rooted, and we must reckon with the operative impulses of human nature—what are known in mathematics as "constants"—such as ambition and indolence, jealousy and loyalty, selfishness and sympathy, love and hatred, gratitude and revenge. It is furthermore necessary to distinguish between a republic and a democracy. Many of the republics of ancient and modern times have been plutocracies and oligarchies, with only the semblance of freedom, whereas a democracy is "a government in which the will of the majority of qualified citizens rules." Another fact to be reckoned with constitutes a serious difficulty. It is that the mass of the people do not actually exercise their power to vote. Absorbed in the routine round of getting and spending, intellectual interest in political and civic questions hardly plays a part in their lives, so that public affairs are in large measure dealt with by the few. It thus follows that the welfare of a democracy depends on adequate leadership, marked by the qualities of character and initiative, and the power to comprehend the mind, needs, desires and will of the people. A serious danger in this connection arises from the selection and election of candidates who can further the interests of the party choosing them, and whose power to rope in votes is regarded as more important than their ability as men of talent, with the qualifications of knowledge, thought, experience, understanding that reveal capacity for constructive statesmanship, free from the partisanship and shortsightedness of the mere politician.

Few men are better qualified for the exacting task of the historian and expositor of this formidable movement than Viscount Bryce. His extensive knowledge and experience are unrivaled. The marvel is that at the age of eighty-two years he should be able to produce a work of such excellent proportions as these two volumes, which are destined to be the standard of reference for the present generation. Most impressive is the optimism shown by one who has gone deeper than most in the investigation of this great theme. He refers to the audacious predictions of foretellers of evil, which have been discredited by the course of events, and his counsel is, "Never despond: unexpected good arrives as well as expected evil." He also suggests that we should take with a large grain of salt those jeremiads which bewail the present to the advantage of the past. To be sure democracy has brought disappointments. It has "belied the prophecies both of its friends and of its enemies. It has failed to give some benefits which the former expected, it has escaped some of the evils which the latter feared. If the optimists overvalued its moral influence, the pessimists undervalued its practical aptitudes. It has reproduced most of the evils which have belonged to other forms of government, though in different forms, and the few it has added are less serious than those evils of the older governments which it has escaped." This work is dedicated to, "A. Lawrence Lowell, to whom Englishmen are indebted for an admirably lucid and exact description of their Government in its theory and practice." The reference is to the two volumes by the President of Harvard University on The Government of England, and here we stop to say that the best discussion of the British Government is by an American, while the ablest treatise on the United States is by an Englishman, none other than Viscount Bryce, whose The American Commonwealth in two volumes is the accepted standard on the subject.

The present work, Modern Democracies, is divided into three parts. The first deals with general principles bearing on democratic government. In fifteen chapters we are given an exposition of such subjects as the definition of democracy, its historical evolution and theoretical foundations, the relations of democracy to liberty, equality, education and religion, the influences of the press, party, local self-government, traditions, the people and public opinion. After this clear and impartial discussion, the second part is given to a historical survey of the achievements of the six democracies of France, Switzerland, Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, with two preliminary chapters on the republics of antiquity and of Spanish America. England is not included in this encyclopedic survey, but there are constant references to the practice of democracy in that country, which is compared with similar or different situations elsewhere. Thus for all practical purposes the present work contains a great deal about the government of the United Kingdom, which he repeatedly demonstrates as being more of a democracy than the United States. The third part is a more detailed examination and criticism of democratic institutions in the light of the practical working of the six democracies, with pertinent observations on certain phenomena

inevitable in the activities of any democracy, and lucid reflections on the present and future of democratic government. Repetitions were to be expected, for in many instances similar conditions confronted these respective governments. But in this concluding section Lord Bryce considers the larger issues, and he treats of the decline and pathology of legislatures, the place of the executive and the judiciary, the relation of central to local government, the types of democratic government and a comparison with other forms including the communist state, the influence of the money power in politics, of oligarchies within democracies, the checks and balances in the course of legislation, the relations of democracy to foreign policy, to backward races, to letters and arts, the sense of responsibility, the practice of leadership, the present tendencies in democracy and its prospects.

Surely this is an exhaustive scheme. Where so many questions are considered only a few can here be noted. The chapter on "The Historical Evolution of Democracy" shows that the progress of popular government was due to the influence of religious ideas, discontent with royal or oligarchic misgovernment, social and political conditions favoring equality, and abstract theory. In England the march from feudal monarchy to popular government took three centuries until it finally triumphed in the Reform Act of 1832. This struggle was primarily against ecclesiastical oppression, civil misrule, and the exercise of certain royal prerogatives deemed to infringe civil liberty. The Puritans protested against these violations of the truth of freedom and equality to which all Christians are entitled, and their successors have maintained a similar attitude with varying success. The growth of democracy was swifter in the United States. Its progress is sketched in outline in the first part and fuller particulars are furnished in later chapters devoted to this country. The dominance of economic interests is regarded as the chief cause of the mediocrity evidenced by politicians in every one of the modern democracies. "Men of high constructive gifts, fit to grapple with the increasingly difficult problems the modern world has to face," have turned to business and other careers where their unusual talents have a larger field for exercise and recognition, without the harassing and humiliating experiences to which they must of necessity be exposed at the hands of an exacting, inquisitive, and disagreeable democracy. But "no class in the community can with impunity withdraw from active participation in its political life." A better spirit is abroad in the United States. Such non-partisan bodies as the good citizens' clubs and civic federations, and on some occasions the bar associations, the chambers of commerce and the university clubs have become potent agencies for reform with promise of better things.

A problem of vital importance is that of education in a democracy. Education does not refer merely to book learning, but to the trained mind, the cool temper and cautious thinking, which show a readiness on occasion to compromise for the sake of the greater effectiveness of democratic institutions. It is apparent how futile would be the attempt to establish full-blown democracies in such countries as Russia, Turkey, China, Persia,

Mexico. The chapter on "Democracy and the Backward Races" deals with this and kindred subjects. The dogma of equality has often proved to be a good talking point to swell majorities, but in the final analysis it is not equality but efficiency that controls the situation. Another matter relates to the status of the common man, who is naturally jealous or suspicious of those superior in intellect and knowledge, lest his rights be invaded by camouflage or conspiracy. And yet, as the chapters on "The People" and "The Future of Democracy" conclusively show, "popular government lives and prospers more by the self-restraint and good sense and good will of the bulk of the nation than by the creative power of great intellects." The liberty of the press must always remain an Ark of the Covenant in every democracy. The dangers from a subsidized or a commercialized press are duly considered. What constitutes public opinion and how it is formed and developed is another topic judiciously estimated. When it is remembered that "most men are indolent and prone to follow the line of least resistance," we can realize how great is the influence of tradition and that the appeal to emotion is generally more effective than the appeal to reason.

Of all the influences that mold human life religion is the greatest. A distinction should, however, be made between the religious and the ecclesiastical spirit. The first is inspirational, but it is constantly threatened to become absorbed in the second, which is institutional and relies on precedents and patronage. Ecclesiastical establishments have often sought the favor of the state without realizing until it was too late that the alliance of the spiritual with the temporal has tended to weaken the former by sacrificing its independence and secularizing its program. One proof of the value of the Pilgrim legacy is the complete separation of church and state in the United States and the exclusion of ecclesiasticism from politics. The Roman Catholic Church has always been involved in politics, and, true to type and tradition, it has been sleeplessly active in the United States, losing no opportunity to wedge its way into power by honest or underhand means, as seen in frequent attempts to appropriate public funds for charitable purposes. The anti-Christian and anti-clerical sentiment so common in France, Italy, Spain, and Mexico, due to the machinations of the Roman Church, should warn us and summon all Protestants to be alert and vigilant lest our liberties be confiscated. The discussion of this subject in various connections is one of the most important features in these volumes.

The ancient monarchies and oligarchies lived by force, but that era is about closing. Democracy is strong only as it has faith in the people. Those who live in a democracy have experienced decidedly greater advantages and benefits than those under other kinds of government. Faith sustained by hope assures itself that greater improvement will yet be seen all along the line. "Throughout the course of history every winter of despondency has been followed by a joyous springtime of hope." Hope is the last word uttered by this prophetic writer, and as long as we cherish hope, democracy will never perish from the earth.

The System of Animate Nature. By J. Arthur Thomson, Professor of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. xi + vi + 687. New York: Henry Holt and Company. Price, $6 net.

The attempts to justify the ways of God with man have frequently been made from many points of view. But several of the arguments were inconclusive because of an excess of special pleading and of too dogmatic a manner. These advocates sought to support their theories by appealing to facts instead of drawing conclusions after a survey and study of the facts. Scientist, philosopher, and theologian have all been guilty of pursuing such a questionable method. The more rational course is illustrated by Professor Thomson.

In his article on "Science" in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, volume xi, this leading biologist makes certain necessary discriminations. "Science is gained by observation and by experiment, but also by reflecting on the data thus supplied." "Philosophy justly deserves the right of critically scrutinizing the scientific conclusions which it uses in building up its interpretative system." Religion goes beyond "the laws of concrete being and becoming," and "implies a recognition—practical, emotional, and intellectual—of a higher order of reality than is reached in sense-experience. It means the recognition of an unseen universe, which throws light on the riddles of the observed world."

These distinctions are finely illustrated in the Gifford lectures on The System of Animate Nature. The purpose of this course is "to indicate what contributions biological science has to offer to a general view of the world." This eminent scientist has kept close to the concrete facts of sense, which are interpreted with due regard to the concepts which transcend sense data. He is convinced that living beings cannot be described in purely physico-chemical terms, as is done by "fallacious biologisms." He also deprecates the unworthy attitude of mutual suspicion between science and philosophy. Theology might also be included, as witnessed in Dr. White's The History of the Warfare of Science with Theology. Professor Thomson's lectures will do much toward helping students to arrive at a synthesis that shall do justice to the abstractions of philosophy, the investigations of science, and the interpretations of theology. He has the intuition of the philosopher, the grasp of the scientist, the insight of the religionist, and also the vision of the poet.

This comprehensive survey enables us to think consistently and together of what we feel and know of the mystery, marvel, and majesty of life. The scientific, the philosophical, and the religious aspects are not exclusive but complementary, so that a view of the whole of life will save us from sentimentalism and onesidedness. "A commonplace view of Animate Nature is an impiety, and a mechanical view is a gratuitous complication of the problems of existence. We must use our everyday and our red-letter day experience of livingness both in ourselves and in other organisms" (p. 101f.). On every page he gives proof of caution and of sensitiveness to the divers strands of evidence.

At times his excessive optimism lends an air of exaggeration to cer-

tain statements. We agree that "the beauty of Nature is a joy forever to many, not only to the cultured, but to the unsophisticated who never heard of the æsthetic attitude" (p. 259). But when we think of maggots and crawling vermin and the putridities of a tropical forest, the enthusiasm for the beauty of Nature in a wild state must be modified. A field naturalist like W. H. Hudson in his volume, The Book of a Naturalist, shows with poetic ingenuity the beauty of what the lay mind has always regarded as repulsive. Thomson is equally enthusiastic in this matter, but we need more convincing. Nor can we accept the dictum that "there is almost no disease in wild Nature" (p. 577). The word "almost" saves him from the charge of generalizing, but what about cancer, which is so common in the animal kingdom, even where it has not felt the influence of man's interference? The lecture on "Disharmonies and Other Shadows" reminds us that there are innumerable difficulties in our view of animate nature, and a protest is made against allowing them to blot out the sun. "The plasticity, the adaptations, the progress, the inter-linkages, the joy, the happiness, the masterpieces, the note of gentleness, how they make the shadows shrink!" (p. 598). Why then stop to dispute over minor matters when there is so much more in these lectures that fills us with amazement and wonderment?

"The Realm of Organisms" is the subject of part one. The ten lectures bring home the truth of "the pervasiveness of mentality in the realm of organisms and of an all penetrating purposiveness." The intent of this section is thus summed up in a concluding paragraph which must be quoted: "We have sought to envisage the variety of life—hundreds of thousands of distinct individualities or species; the abundance of life—like a river always tending to overflow its banks; the diffusion of life—exploring and exploiting every corner of land and sea; the insurgence of life—self-assertive, persistent, defiant, continually achieving the apparently impossible; the cyclical development of life—ever passing from birth, through love, to death; the intricacy of life—every cell a microcosm; the subtlety of life—every drop of blood an index of idiosyncrasies; the inter-relatedness of life—with myriad threads woven in a patterned web; the drama of life—plot within plot, age after age, with every conceivable illustration of the twin motives of hunger and love; the flux of life—even under our short-lived eyes; the progress of life—slowly creeping upwards through unthinkable time, expressing itself in ever nobler forms; the beauty of life—every finished organism an artistic harmony; the morality of life—spending itself to the death for other than individual ends; the mentality of life—sometimes quietly dreaming, sometimes sleep-walking, sometimes widely awake; and the victory of life—subduing material things to its will, and in its highest reaches controlling itself towards an increasing purpose." We thus reach the "provisional conclusion" that "individualities with mind, with freedom, and with purpose cannot be accounted for in terms of a ground of reality without mind, without freedom, without purpose. Therefore let us humbly seek after, if haply we may find, more than the foot prints of the Creator, who, beholding all the works of his hands, found them good for his purpose."

This search is undertaken in the second part on "The Evolution of the Realm of Organisms." We are led to see that there has been a definite direction in the evolution of living beings toward well-being. A masterly discussion, in ten lectures, from many angles, of the concept of evolution, the great steps in organic evolution, the factors of variation and selection, the influences of heredity and environment, and the crowning of Nature in Man, brings us to the conclusion that the contemplation of the evolutionary process of which mankind is an outcome has a tonic virtue. One of the most suggestive lessons induces the inquiry whether we are making what we might of the well-springs of joy in the world (p. 621). Another is that we must let in more light and more love. "Nine tenths of our physical ills are due to ignorance and perhaps a still greater proportion of our social evils are due to selfishness." Yet another is that this world is not a swamp to be crossed as quickly as possible, but a marsh to be drained (p. 626). What was said in a previous lecture on the highest values for man of the True, the Beautiful, the Good, is repeatedly enforced by many striking illustrations from features in Nature that correspond to them.

Tokens of altruism are seen everywhere. Nature is not a vast gladiatorial show, nor is it "a dismal cockpit," which Tennyson referred to as "red in tooth and claw." The view that evolution is "a chapter of accidents" will not fail to engender "natural irreligion" (p. vi). The struggle for existence, which must not be confused with "natural selection," when viewed as a whole, looks away "from internecine competition and sanguinary combats" to the more attractive endeavor after wellbeing in the "self-subordinating experiment and effort to secure the success of the offspring." One of the tragedies of warfare is that it sifts out those whom the world can least afford to lose (p. 313f.). Over against this phase of Nature, mention must be made of "parasitism," on which there are some wholesome observations that might with great advantage be developed and applied by the preacher (p. 578ff.).

Dr. W. L. Watkinson has shown in his fertile pulpit work how to use the conclusions of science in expounding the truth of religion. His latest volume, "The Shepherd of the Sea," is full of such illustrations and his example deserves to be followed. The preacher who makes a diligent study of these two volumes by Professor Thomson will be greatly enriched. He will thus hear the still small voice of God, and help his people to do the same, and so secure the divine peace that passeth all understanding, the possession of which above all things can make life truly worth living.

OSCAR L. JOSEPH.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

What is New Theology? By JOHN PAUL, D.D. (Asbury College, Wilmon, Ky.). Better than this *apologia* for the orthodox faith is the more scholarly work of Dr. J. A. Faulkner, Modernism and Christian Faith, because the latter makes the vital truths of religion more at home in the atmosphere of modern thought.

Books as a Delight. By WILLIAM A. QUAYLE (Abingdon Press, 35c.). A delightful essay on a delightful theme. Bishop Quayle is at his best of poetic fancy as he brings us under the spell and lure of books. There could be no more charming booklet to send as a Christmas token. We would like to quote—but you had better buy and read it.

The Meaning of Education. By JAMES H. SNOWDEN (Abingdon Press, 75c., net). In this very valuable study of the psychology of education, a full-orbed personality is seen as the goal of training. An education which develops symmetrically body, mind, and heart will be an efficient instrument for life and service.

The Bible and Modernism. By J. M. STANFIELD. This "defense of the Bible against modern unbelief" fails because it knows nothing of a living Bible. Its vehement protests against modernism are made in behalf of the mechanical verbal code of the traditionalists, whose Bible cannot stand the tests of science or scholarship. But the real Bible is secure against both the skeptic and the literalist.

A READING COURSE

The Power of Prayer. Edited by the Right Rev. W. P. PATERSON, D.D. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, $4.

IN one of his letters, William James wrote with reference to his volume, Varieties of Religious Experience, "The problem I have set myself is a hard one: first to defend (against all the prejudices of my 'class') 'experience' against 'philosophy,' as being the real backbone of the world's religious life—I mean prayer, guidance, and all that sort of thing immediately and privately felt, as against high and noble general views of our destiny and the world's meaning." Auguste Sabatier, in his Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion, wrote, "I now understand why 'natural religion' is not religion. It deprives man of prayer, it leaves God and man at a distance from each other. No intimate commerce, no interior dialogue, no exchange between them, no action of God in man, no return of man to God. At bottom, this pretended religion is nothing but philosophy. It arises in periods of rationalism, of criticism, of impersonal reason, and has never been anything but an abstraction" (p. 30).

With this introduction we take up this volume of essays on prayer. Just as he who knows only Christianity does not really know it, so those who are familiar only with the Christian conception of prayer have much to learn of the deep significance of this human instinct. Those who are interested in a comprehensive study of prayer should read the series of articles in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. X, pp. 154-214. It stirs one to the depths to realize that men of every clime and century have turned with earnest desire toward what they regarded as the central heart of things. The history of prayer, from its crude expressions in spell and charm through divers stages reaching upward to communion with the

God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is a recital of the religious development of mankind. The erratic forms and fantastic methods of what charity alone would designate as prayer nevertheless bear testimony to the human impulse for fellowship with the Divine. Stratton rightly observes, in the Psychology of the Religious Life, "The human race has moved almost as if bewildered, between the alternatives of a God who comes close to man, who knows and sympathizes with our human lot, and a God dwelling apart and beyond all intercourse with men" (p. 300).

This conclusion is confirmed by the volume we have selected for discussion. Its value is in its representative character. The nineteen essays were chosen out of 1,667 essays, written in nineteen languages, reflecting divers grades of intelligence, culture, and religious experience, and expressing "every standpoint of the positive religious thought of the higher civilizations." Such an overwhelming response bore conclusive testimony to the vital interest in prayer. The note of experience in them is a proof of the real and inestimable value of the practice of prayer. Some of the essays were included in this volume not on account of their excellence, but as throwing "light upon the life and thought of the whole religious world of to-day, including the regions of ethnic and eclectic faith as well as the various sections of the Christian Church." They are not of uniform merit, but the essays, taken as a whole, cover the ground more completely than any other volume on prayer.

There are some encouraging facts worth mentioning. It is interesting to know that a large number of the essays sent in were from the laity, thus showing that the lay ~~mind~~ is seriously thinking of prayer. Two thirds of the essays were evangelical, thus disproving the superficial assertion that evangelicalism is on the wane and that the atmosphere of prayer is more widely diffused in Catholicism. The blending of a growing intellectualism with evangelicalism is also an indication that prayer is increasingly regarded as an integral part of the rational order of things. With few exceptions the subject was considered independent of ecclesiastical connections, making it clear that prayer is not determined by denominational affinities. This is not the same as saying that prayer can flourish apart from the church, for it is repeatedly emphasized that where the church contributes idealism and inspiration, the efficacy of prayer is proportionately greater, and that where public worship is honored the enrichment of prayer is better experienced. That the United States was largely represented among the writers is an index of our religious interest, but it should be a matter of deep concern that many of the American essays showed the strong influence of Christian Science and other eclectic cults. Note carefully the results of Dr. Paterson's report on all the essays, especially that which refers to "the discontent of a section of Christians with commonplace Christianity" (p. 14). How can we get out of the rut of religious conventionality and empty traditionalism, and recover for prayer the central place in the thought and practice of Christians and the church? Answers to this question are suggested in Dr. Paterson's survey on "Prayer and the Contemporary Mind."

This writer points out that the essayists seemed to have made no use

of the devotional literature of the past, but showed a keen interest in current literature. Is this an advantage or a disadvantage? If each generation must do its own thinking, is it well that we should rely on former ideas and methods of prayer, even to the use of accustomed phrases? Canon Streeter recently declared that "prayer is a theme on which it is possible to say much that is true, but not much that is new." To what extent is this correct? Is not a great deal of misunderstanding of prayer due to a failure to relate its practice to the modern conceptions of the transcendence and immanence of God, influenced as they have been by the progress of science, philosophy, and psychology? We no longer think of science as in conflict with religion, but rather as "an auxiliary of faith" and a "religious mediator." On this point read the essays on "The Meeting-Place of Science and Mysticism," and "A Modern Apology."

It is not possible to examine each of these essays in detail. It was to be expected that there would be repetitions, which, however, emphasize the fundamental features of prayer. The prize essay, by Dr. McComb of Baltimore, on the meaning, reality, and power of prayer, is a clear presentation. He is right in declaring that many traditional ideas of prayer have tended to obscure the inwardness and genuineness of this act. He is aware of the present moral and spiritual inertia, but he is also confident that when the atmosphere is cleared, "prayer will renew its energies, and so vindicate its power that, before many decades have passed, few men will be found to disbelieve in its truth and value" (p. 42). He concludes a close argument on the immutability of law by stating that "prayer, so far from being a violation of or interference with the Divine order of the world, is itself the fulfillment of a spiritual order on which the natural order rests, and by which it is sustained" (p. 47). This view is confirmed and illustrated in other essays. One, on "The Scope and Limitations of Prayer," points out that "there is room for prayer that God by his direct action should set in operation in our affairs some law already existent but unknown, which by its cooperation with the laws whose action we can discern would produce the result desired" (p. 114). Another, on "Prayer and Experience," has a fine section on "prayer, providence, and law" (p. 81). Reference should also be made to Dr. Paterson's paper which reminds us that we must reckon with the creative energies of God (p. 28). Indeed, this question has become so complicated because of misunderstandings. No intelligent prayer seeks to violate law and the idea of the fixity of natural laws is at best only a hypothesis (p. 169).

After all, the difficulties of prayer are not to be met by logic, but by experience. In different ways, the testimony is repeatedly given to the reality of prayer tested and verified in the laboratory of life. Even where we disagree with some of the modes of reasoning, we are inclined to agree with the soundness of the conclusions. Such a persistent appeal from all parts of the world should induce us to enter the oratory and prove the efficacy of this act, which has never failed to dissipate error, to stimulate action, and to propagate the truth through devout lives of daring rectitude and consecrated service. Much is made of intercessory prayer. The essay on "Prayer and Experience" deals with aspects of petitionary prayer

and guards against the thought of prayer as beggary. Petition in its literal sense is invariably transcended by communion. The relation between worship and work is well expounded. An idea too prevalent that work is worship should be corrected by the more adequate conception of prayer as the inspiration for work. Not *laborare est orare*, but *ora et labora* is the more effective course.

Other aspects discussed are the recreative function of prayer, prayer as an offering to God, the spirit of the cross in its practice, its vitalizing power, its consoling influence, its cure for unrest, its therapeutic values. "A Chaplain's Thoughts on Prayer" deals with the dynamics of this exercise. It is "the Divine sap within us rising up to the Parent Stock" (p. 132). "The Greater Ventures of Prayer" is a mystical meditation, finding joy in the exhaustless resources of those upon whom the Divine radiance is poured down in answer to prayer (p. 184). "From an Anthropological Point of View" furnishes illustrations of different types of prayer among civilized and uncivilized peoples. "The Faith of a Missionary" unfolds the open secret by experiences in China. "From the Autobiography of an Evangelist" is a direct testimony at once artless and impressive. "Rules and Methods" expounds the mystical phases of prayer in the Hindu and Buddhist Scriptures.

Space is limited to deal with the essays of a propagandist character, and they can only be mentioned. "Under the Guidance of the Church" gives the Roman Catholic view, "Prayer in Relation to Spiritual Law and Absolute Reality," that of Christian Science; "An Oriental Conception of Prayer," that of theosophy; "A Study of Bahai Prayer" that of a Persian sect. The closing essay, on "Impressions and Reflections," is a good summary of what the essays contribute and what they omit. The whole volume merits our serious attention.

Side Readings

Concerning Prayer. Edited by B. H. Streeter (Macmillan). In many ways this is the ablest treatise on prayer, from the Christian standpoint.

The Christian Doctrine of Prayer. Edited by J. Hastings (Scribners). A systematic treatment with extensive quotations from the entire realm of literature.

For information about books on subjects of interest to preachers address this department, *Reading Course*, care of the Methodist Review, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Oscar L. Joseph.

WHO'S WHO IN THE REVIEW

Lynn Harold Hough, D.D., needs little introduction to readers of modern religious literature. After pastorates in New York and Baltimore, he became professor of Historical Theology in Garrett Biblical Institute, then president of Northwestern University, and is now in charge of one of the greatest churches in America, the Central Methodist Episcopal

Church, Detroit, Mich. He is author of such inspiring books as The Theology of a Preacher, Productive Beliefs, and others.

PAUL HUTCHINSON is Executive Secretary of the China Centenary Movement at Shanghai, China. His interesting article is based on a paper prepared for the East China Educational Association, in which his colleague, Dr. Lo REN-YEN, collaborated. A fine example of the noblest type of Chinese student is revealed in the following article by SIA TIENG ANG, M.A., who died of tuberculosis in University Park, Colorado, in 1905. He was a son of the noted Chinese Methodist preacher, SIA SEK ONG. The article on Confucius was written by him about a year before his death, and is now available for our readers through the courtesy of Dr. WILBUR F. STEELE, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Denver.

HENRY CLAY SHELDON, D.D., who recently retired after forty-five years' distinguished service in the Boston University School of Theology as professor of historical theology and later of systematic theology, is the author of many very able treatises, such as Systematic Theology, Sacerdotalism in the Nineteenth Century, Studies in Adventism, Pantheistic Dilemmas, etc.

ANDREW GILLIES, D.D., orator, lecturer, writer, after distinguished and fruitful service in several great churches of Methodism, because of failing health was compelled to retire several years ago. Now residing in Rochester, N. Y., his facile pen takes the place of his voice in the compelling prophetic message.

REV. CHARLES B. DALTON is pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, San Bernardino, Cal.

JOHN WRIGHT BUCKHAM is a professor in the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Cal.

THE REV. EDWARD RUST LEWIS is Methodist pastor at Yellow Springs, Ohio.

PROFESSOR EMIL CARL WILM, Professor in Boston University, can speak with authority as an expert on educational themes.

In the Arena, Dr. AARON S. WATKINS, who was once a candidate for President on the National Prohibition ticket, punctures the fallacy of "vested rights" in connection with prohibitory laws.

Attention must be called to the very able discussion of recent commentaries on Job by Professor ROBERT W. ROGERS, of Drew Theological Seminary, and the elaborate critique of Charles's "Revelation" by Professor PERITZ, of Syracuse.

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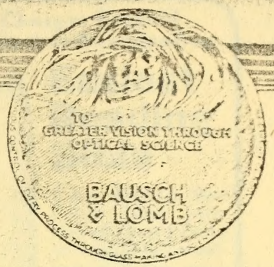

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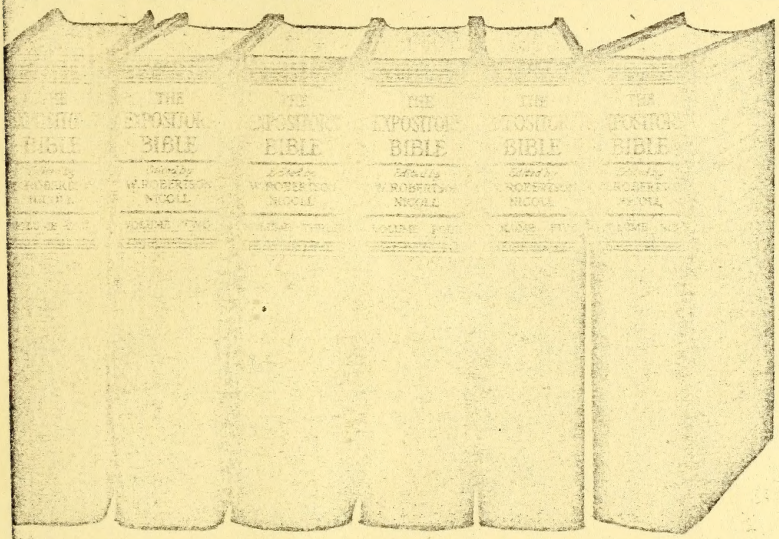

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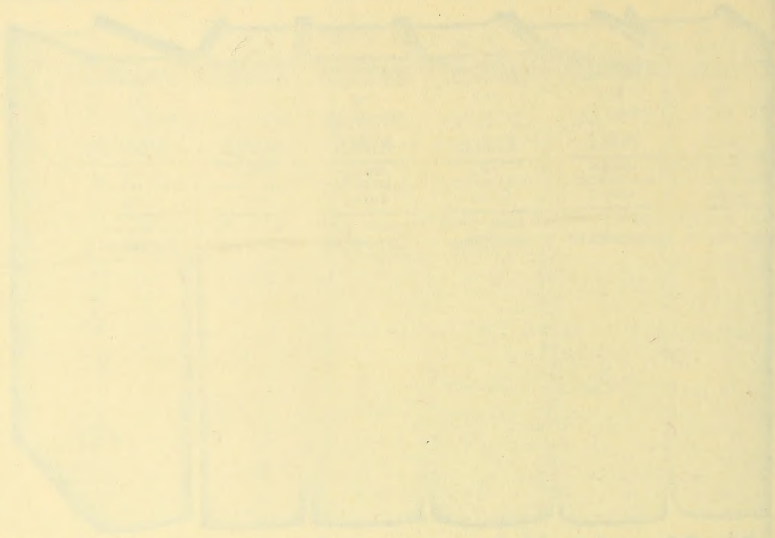

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